Augustine Herrman

Earl L. W. Heck

AUGUSTINE HERRMAN

Portrait of Augustine Herrman, drawn by himself and engraved by William Faithorne, 1673.

Augustine Herrman

BEGINNER *of the*
VIRGINIA TOBACCO TRADE

MERCHANT *of* NEW AMSTERDAM
and
FIRST LORD *of* BOHEMIA MANOR
in
MARYLAND

by
E*arl* L. W. H*eck*

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PREFACE

Few more picturesque or romantic figures have appeared in the early annals of American history than Augustine Herrman, first lord of Bohemia Manor. It is not because of his picturesqueness or of the romantic glamor of his career that a detailed biography of Herrman is thought advisable. Little more than fifty years ago few had heard of his name. One day in the North Library of the British Museum his map of Virginia and Maryland was discovered. So accurately had it been plotted and so artistically had it been drawn and engraved that soon scholars wanted to know more about the man who had made it. The colonial archives of Maryland and Virginia revealed Herrman to be a man past the middle age of life seated in state at his baronial manor house in the extreme northeast corner of Maryland. But few who had learned even this much about him were aware that he had had a previous career—the career of the first great American merchant and man of business.

Not alone as the beginner of the Virginia tobacco trade, but also for his developing trade in general in New Amsterdam and elsewhere is his career worthy of serious study. The name of Peter Stuyvesant is known to every English-speaking school boy the world over; but the doughty old governor's satellite, "lesser but greater" remains relatively unknown to the public at large. Few men did Stuyvesant hate more than Herrman—a hatred that burned to white heat at times with all the consuming energy of the tempestuous Dutchman's fiery nature; but there was none for whom he had more respect and none whom he could better trust in difficult matters: it is proper that we say this in memory of Peter Stuyvesant. For every difficult and delicate situation that required tact and ability, Herrman in-

variably was chosen. Herrman was one of the few, if not the only man in New Amsterdam who was able to read the fate of the province by the signs of the times. He saw that Holland in America was doomed and that England sooner or later would gain control of the country of Henrik Hudson.

In preparing this record of Augustine Herrman's life, we have endeavored to keep as closely as possible to the actual facts. The colonial documents of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, New Jersey, New York, Delaware and Rhode Island have been gone over carefully. In fact, there are few of the original colonial records that do not have something to say about Herrman's extraordinary career. He appears to have traveled widely and was likely known all the way from Boston to Charleston, at least by name and reputation. It may not be an exaggeration to call Herrman "the first great American". He was a fitting antagonist to Peter Stuyvesant, "Our great Moscovy duke (who) keeps on as of old—something like a wolf, the longer he lives, the worse he bites." Herrman, on the other hand, was ever cool and collected, with a quiet sense of humor and a philosophic attitude toward life in general. Although deeply religious and highly intellectual, he was neither a bigot nor a pedant. No man of his day could undergo hardships more submissively; no one could dispense the hospitalities of a great house with greater ease and more charming grace.

Then, too, from being merely a biography of an important historical personage, this account may help to impress a little more on the public mind the importance of New Amsterdam in its relation to America and Europe. In 1650, with the possible exception of Plymouth and Salem, New Amsterdam was the largest village in what is now the United States; in point of commerce it had no equal; not even Jamestown. The story of the conquest of New Netherlands by the British is the story of

English policy retold. How amazing the saga sounds now; that within forty-eight hours after Captain Nichols sailed up before Fort Amsterdam one hundred fifty thousand square miles of the richest territory on the Atlantic Coast were added to the British dominions: all without the firing of one fatal shot.

In the preparation of the life of Augustine Herrman I am particularly indebted to Mr. Thomas Čapek of New York and to former United States Senator Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware. Mr. Čapek has been kind to give me suggestions from time to time, and he himself has made an exhaustive search of the ancestry of Herrman in the archives of Prague. I have made constant reference to the results of his researches that were published in Prague in 1930.

As one of the descendants of Augustine Herrman through his second daughter, Judith, Senator Bayard has long had an active interest in Herrman's career. For a number of years he has lived on the site of Bohemia Manor and has gathered much material relating to the original manor house as well as other facts relating to the Maryland life of Herrman. These facts Senator Bayard has been kind enough to place at my disposal. He has also read the manuscript and has made many valuable suggestions. Without his constant aid and criticism this life of Augustine Herrman could not be as complete as it is.

E. L. W. H.

Englewood, Ohio.
May, 1941.

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AUGUSTINE HERRMAN

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION: BIRTH AND ANCESTRY

All we know for certain about the ancestry of Augustine Herrman is that he was born in the city of Prague, the beautiful capital of the ancient kingdom of Bohemia, and that his parents were natives of that city.[1] H. A. Rattermann,[2] without citing the authority for his statement, contends that Herrman's father, "Augustine Ephraim Herrman was a prominent citizen of Prague and a member of the City Council, who kept a store at the Coal Market (a square in Prague) of the Old Town. His mother Beatrix was the daughter of a patrician, Kasper Redel by name, of whom nothing else is known except that he affiliated with the rebellious Estates which met in the Collegium Carolinum (Charles University) May 10-20, 1618. The father, too, was an ardent partisan of the so-called Sub-Utraque (Church of the Hussites believing in and practicing communion in both kinds, that is, bread and wine), he having joined in a Memorial Protest to the Emperor, thereby falling under the ruler's Patent (of expulsion)."

Mr. Thomas Čapek has spent many years investigating from the original Czech sources the question of Herrman's antecedents.[3] Quoting Dr. Miloš Lier, assistant archivist of the Central Library of the city of Prague who aided him in his researches, Mr. Čapek writes, "If Augustin Ephraim Herrman

[1] Upon his application for citizenship in America, Herrman gave Prague as his birthplace.

[2] Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin, Cincinnati, Ohio. Band I. p. 202.

[3] Čapek, Thomas, Augustine Herrman of Bohemia Manor, a monograph. Praha, 1930, pp. 6-8.

had been a member of the City Council (and of course, a citizen) in either of the three cities of Prague—the Old Town, or the Small Side—we ought to have a record of it here. I examined carefully the archives and the registers of the three cities in question (and likewise of the Upper town of Hradčany), but, to my regret, I find no trace of Augustine Herrman; nor, for that matter, of Kaspar Redel . . ."

In 1889 Mr. Čapek published an article about Augustine Herrman in an Omaha, Neb. weekly. Soon afterwards he received a communication from Mšeno, Bohemia regarding an entry in the Memorial Book of that town, "A.D. 1621, the Sunday before Christ's birth, on a cold day, our beloved pastor, Abraham Herzman went into exile with his family to the city of Žitava (Zittau, Saxony). His noble minded and pious wife did not live long enough to see this humiliation, having died of grief a month before his departure. . . . Before the parish stood a vehicle, in which was seated his family, consisting of a son, Augustine and three daughters."[4]

Pursuing this clue, Čapek was able to confirm through the local historian of Mšeno that, "the last evangelical pastor at Mšeno was Abraham Herman, who had charge of the parish next the St. John's Church, No. 199. When after the Battle of White Mountain on June 3, Ferdinand II issued a proclamation that henceforth only Catholic worship would be tolerated and finally, when, by an edict dated July 31, 1627, the Emperor made it known that those refusing to conform with the State religion must leave the country, many persons emigrated from Mšeno, while others embraced the Catholic faith. Likewise the last Utraquist Herman (Hussite) minister of the gospel, Abraham Herman emigrated to Saxony, to the city of

[4] Čapek, pp. 8, 9.

Zittau; in consequence of which, many ancient books and manuscripts had been carried off to foreign lands. . . ."

Herein we see, then, that the above account resembles the one given by Rattermann only in that the elder Herrman was a member of the Hussite Church. In summing up the data so far found concerning the ancestry of Augustine Herrman, Mr. Čapek seems unprepared to accept either the Ratterman account or that Abraham Herman, the minister of Mšeno was the father of Augustine, the colonist. So for the time being we shall let the matter rest here.

We know for a certainty neither the names of the father and mother of Augustine Herrman, nor the precise date of his birth. Judging alone from an entry in his last will and Testament signed in 1684 in which is a notation, "Aetatis 63",[5] meaning, it would seem, that he was sixty-three years old when he executed his signature to the document, and would have been born, therefore, in 1621. Rattermann, on the other hand, places the date as 1605, again without stating his authority. However, there are indications that the earlier date is apt to be more nearly correct. We know from the so-called Schuylkill River treaty, to be discussed presently, that "Augustin Heermans" was a witness with four others to the signatures of the Indian chiefs. This treaty was signed in 1633; and had Herrman been born in 1621 he would have been only 12 years old; an incredibly early age for him to have been in America, no less than his being called to witness the signing of an important document.

This much, however, we can piece together from the dark labyrinth of uncertainty. With a fair degree of plausibility we can assume that his parents were well born and well educated

[5] Not written on will by Herrman, however.

and that they were members of the Protestant faith of Bohemia. We can assume, too, without danger of indulging in an extreme flight of fancy[6] that young Augustine began life in Prague under favorable circumstances. From an early age he no doubt took a decided interest in his lessons and in outdoor life; and the instruction that he obtained from Nature, especially the study of geology, greatly influenced his later life. Prague at that time was an influential and beautiful city where young Herrman grew up among refined surroundings and among men and women of the world. He studied classical literature and probably many of the Oriental masterpieces. He was versed in at least six of the conversational languages of Europe. Perhaps at a tender age he began to draw and became particularly skillful in making childish maps. Geography in those early days must have had a special fascination for him and no doubt he took many youthful journeys to the far away and little known America; then a land of mystery and adventure even to the most informed. But the source material for this early period of Herrman's life is non-existent, and it is likely that he grew up amidst refined ease much like other well born lads of Bohemia.

But it was not long until this pleasant and leisurely life in the beautiful city of Prague was destined to be brought to an unhappy close. He could not have been very old when the storm clouds of religious dissension began to gather over Bohemia, to divide the people into two conflicting groups and to drive into exile those who clung to the Protestant form of worship. The parents with young Augustine fled first to Germany and made their way to Holland. It is possible that the

[6] For an interesting, though somewhat fanciful and highly colored account of Herrman's early life see J. H. Innes, "New Amsterdam and its people", 1902, pp. 282-290.

Herrmans had kinspeople living in Amsterdam. Among the earliest documents signed by Augustine Herrman (1633) the name is spelled "Heermans", probably a Dutch form, although the name, "Herman" dates back to the eleventh century in the chronicles of Bohemian history.[7] In Amsterdam, no doubt, Herrman continued his education so rudely interrupted in Prague. In the Dutch commercial town he likely studied surveying and other practical subjects in order to earn a living in a world that already was becoming hostile. According to J. G. Wilson[8] Herrman saw service under the Protestant hero, Gustavus Adolphus about the year 1628, but obviously if he was born in 1621, this would have been impossible.

Regardless of whether Herrman fought in the Old World quarrels, by temperament he was not likely to have become a successful soldier. As he grew older America took shape in his mind as the most desirable place to live; adventure and travel beyond the seas were more enticing to his active and vigorous mind than a military life on the continent of Europe with its ceaseless round of political and religious controversies. He lived in an admirable city to prepare his mind for the attainment of his desire to travel. Amsterdam was just then beginning to replace Antwerp as the commercial metropolis of Europe. Dutch ships and those of other nations were seen daily in her stately harbor; two great Dutch trading companies, the Dutch East India and the Dutch West India, had been lately chartered. Both were desirous to enlist young men in their ranks to settle in the new colonial domains. Then, too, there were other great private commercial firms like Peter Gabry and Sons which

[7] Encyclopaedia Bohemia.

[8] The biographers of Herrman seem divided into two schools; those who place the date of his birth around 1605 and those who place it as of 1621. See J. G. Wilson's account of Herrman in New Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc., Vol. XI. Pt. 2. p. 21.

needed young men of ability and intelligence to act as their foreign agents. It is likely that Herrman met with little opposition when he first offered his services to the Dutch West India Company. Before visiting the mainland he probably made voyages to the West Indies and Curaçao.

Chapter II

A NEW AMSTERDAM MERCHANT AND LANDOWNER

We are not sure of the exact year Augustine Herrman came to the New World; nor are we certain of the precise part of America he first visited. This much seems certain, however. He saw a strange weed called tobacco growing in the rich soil of the southern lowlands and was aware that it was cultivated, cured and sent back to the European cities where people bought and smoked it. Inasmuch as he later referred to himself as the beginner of the Virginia tobacco trade we might assume that he stopped on one of these early voyages at the port of Jamestown where he took some time to study about the cultivation and shipment of tobacco. By beginning the Virginia tobacco trade it is possible that what Herrman meant by the statement was that he took some of the tobacco with him back to Amsterdam where he sold it. Certainly he was not an independent merchant at this time.

In 1633 he was with Arendt Corssen on the present site of Philadelphia when the land in that vicinity was bought from the Indians. There is some little evidence to believe that he came over in that year with Wouter Van Twiller, as an officer of the Dutch West India Company. At any rate Van Twiller, before assuming the governorship of New Amsterdam, had been a clerk in the home office of the Dutch West India Company and undoubtedly he knew of Herrman.[1]

In 1633 Arendt Corssen was a commissary of Fort Nassau

[1] Lamb, M. J. History of New York, 1877, Vol. I.

(on the east side of the Delaware River) under Van Twiller.[2] He was ordered by the Dutch governor to buy a large tract of land on the Schuylkill River on which a fort called Beversrede was later built; so named because of the multitude of beavers which abounded there. "Those From the South (called Munquasson) and the wild blacks, are brought down in large quantities; so that the river, for its fitness, handsome situation, as well in regard of trade as of culture will always be held by the company and ministers in high esteem."[3] The conveyance of the land was made by means of the following document:

"We the subscribers, Amattehooren, Alebackinne, Sinquees, etc. . . . chiefs over portions of the land lying about and on the Schuylkill, called Armenveruies, declare, that after proper and deliberate consideration, we have sold to Arent Corssen, the Schuylkill and adjoining lands, for certain cargoes, for which we are not paid in full, but for which were fully satisfied at present."

This document is signed by Amattehooren, Sinquees, Alebackinne, Michecksonwabbe, Quironqueckock, Kancke and Walpackvouch with their curious appropriate marks.[4]

The above instrument was witnessed by, "Augustin Heermans, Govert Loockermans, Juriaen Plancke, Cornelis Jansen Coele and Sander Leendertsen."

The years from 1634 to 1644 are blank in relation to Herrman's life so far as documentary evidence is concerned. It is probable, however, that he remained in the service of the Dutch West India Company, making frequent trips to Amsterdam and the West Indies.[5] Commenting upon this period of Herrman's life, Čapek says:

[2] O'Callighan, E. B. Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, Vol. I. p. 142.

[3] Hazard, Samuel, Annals of Pennsylvania, 1850, p. 35.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Is it probable that Herrman came as a boy of twelve years of age with

"Prior to settling in the Dutch metropolis, he probably resided in Virginia. It is of interest that traces of Czech immigration in the first half of the 17th. century lead to this very section of that state. There is evidence that he did work as a public surveyor at Accomac, Va. (The Eastern Shore of Virginia, Proc. of the Council of Maryland, 1661-1675, Vol. III. pp. 463-64). The services of a surveyor in a new country must have been greatly in demand. In his spare time he traded with Indians and planted tobacco. 'I am the founder of the Virginia tobacco trade', he wrote to Governor Stuyvesant. The exact date of his removal to New Amsterdam is not known."[6]

In June 1644 Herrman was associated with Laurents Cornelissen as an agent in New Amsterdam for Peter Gabry and Sons, the prominent merchant traders of Amsterdam,[7] but he probably was connected with the Gabry firm the year before and possibly as early as 1640.[8] By this time his commercial propensities were fully awakened and he sought many means to promote trade between the New World and Amsterdam. In 1644 he made successful experiments in the cultivation of indigo on his farm (bouwery) near the site of the Astor Library.[9] He tried the culture of indigo merely from an experimental standpoint, and as it was not a source of much revenue he discontinued its growth after a few years.

By 1644 the New Amsterdam branch of the Gabry firm had

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some older man in 1633; possibly with Govert Loockermans, later his friend and advisor? The fact that but slight mention can be found in the colonial records from 1634 to 1644 might substantiate that supposition.

[6] Čapek, Thomas. Augustine Herrman, p. 12. Mr. Čapek may be quite right in his belief that Herrman spent some time on the Eastern Shore of Virginia prior to 1644. His brother-in-law, Dr. George Hack and with whom he was later associated in business was living on the Eastern Shore by 1651. However, J. C. Wise in his exhaustive researches of this part of Virginia does not mention Herrman.

[7] New York Geneal. and Biog. Record. Vol. 9. p. 58.

[8] Wilson, J. G. N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc. Vol. LI.

[9] Van der Donck, Adriaen. Desc. of New Netherlands.

grown to be fairly large; certainly the most important in the western continent. The extent of their business in America may be seen from a receipt for 2622 guilders, 9 stivers given to Governor Kieft by Herrman and Cornelissen.[10] Peter Gabry died about the year 1645 and was succeeded by his sons, John and Charles. Quarrels arose between the sons and Herrman left the Gabry firm about this time; and in his own name began an extensive trade with Amsterdam, London and Jamestown, Virginia. In 1652 Charles Gabry brought suit against Herrman in New Amsterdam for alleged debts,[11] but in 1661 the local court decided in favor of the defendant.[12]

On the official seal of New Amsterdam appeared the figure of a beaver. No better emblem could have been chosen; it best represented the very reason for the establishment of the Dutch colony. First a trading post and later a shipping center, New Amsterdam depended from the very first and for a time thereafter for her prosperity and in fact her very existence upon the beaver. As early as 1634 it seems that Herrman was shipping furs to Europe and receiving skins principally from Fort Nassau and Fort Orange and likely from a few points south of the Delaware River, especially from Patuxen, Maryland.[13]

In addition to furs, Herrman dealt in cattle and horses which he sent to Virginia.[14] To that colony he also sent lumber.[15] He had salt shipped to New Amsterdam from Curaçao which he distributed between New Netherland, the southern colonies

[10] Dutch Mss. (ed. by E. B. O'Callighan), Pt. I. p. 28.

[11] O'Callighan. N. Y. Col. Mss. Vol. I. pp. 469, 470.

[12] Dutch Mss. p. 229.

[13] Dutch Mss. p. 107 & Maryland Arch. (Proc. of Council), Vol. 5. pp. 165, 200. If Herrman was so engaged by 1634 it seems impossible that he was born in 1621.

[14] Dutch Mss. p. 129.

[15] Ibid.

and Europe.[16] From Amsterdam he imported pottery, glassware and tavern supplies.[17] He also imported wines from France and Spain and much of this commodity he sent to Virginia in exchange for tobacco.

Herrman's scheme for commercial supremacy was far-reaching. He dealt in African slaves and sent numbers of them to Maryland and Virginia in exchange for tobacco.[18] Slavery was found not to be a suitable institution in New Netherland, where few slaves were kept. The Dutch burgers were content to cultivate their own small plots of land without extra help. Moreover, the climate did not seem to agree with the health of the slaves as we find that some of whom Herrman had brought in died suddenly.[19]

But the phase of Herrman's mercantile career with which we are now concerned is the trade in tobacco between New and old Amsterdam. Tobacco had been grown on a small scale by the Indians and by the Virginians from the earliest years of that colony. It was, however, for the most part cultivated for only local use; for but little found its way to the old world except that which was occasionally taken by a returning emigrant. But the Virginians, learning how readily the use of the weed was becoming among the people of not only England and Holland but in all European countries, began the cultivation of tobacco on a somewhat larger scale. In 1619 the first slaves were brought to America through the port of Jamestown in Dutch ships; thereby laying the groundwork for the extensive cultivation of tobacco a decade or two hence. Up until 1625 the greater part of the Virginia tobacco had been

[16] Ibid. p. 331.
[17] Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. III. p. 358-59.
[18] Ibid. p. 379.
[19] Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. II. p. 119.

sent to London. But more and more Amsterdam was becoming the chief commercial mart of Europe and the number of the Dutch ships was exceeded only by those of Great Britain. On the other hand the low rates charged by the Dutch for transportation of the tobacco abroad stood in favor of marketing the produce in Amsterdam.

At first, however, Herrman did not confine his traffic in tobacco exclusively with Virginia. About the year 1629 the culture of tobacco was introduced into New Netherland by Thomas Hall, the first Virginian to settle in the Dutch colony. Herrman, eager to produce the commodity in such near proximity, encouraged the burgers to cultivate the plant; he himself growing it on his own bouwery. By 1640 he was shipping large quantities from both Virginia and New Netherland.[20] But the severity of the climate of the northern colony was found to be such that the quality of the tobacco grown there was found inferior to the Virginia product; and European merchants more and more demanded that grown in the southern colony. After 1640 the cultivation of the plant gradually declined in New Netherland and was confined essentially to Virginia and the newly opened Maryland plantations.

About the year 1650 he began to systematize his tobacco trade; and for a few years, it seems, he was able to establish a monopoly in the staple. In this enterprise were associated Dr.

[20] As early as 1658 Herrman was known in both America and Europe as the "beginner of the Virginia tobacco trade" (Dutch Mss. Pt. 1 Calendar of Hist. Mss. p. 204). There are vague indications that he began the trade in 1629 though it is probable that at that early date, when he was an agent for the Dutch West India Company, he shipped very small quantities from Virginia of tobacco locally grown by Thomas Hall and others on Manhattan Island. In 1626 tobacco exports from Virginia amounted to only 500,000 pounds. By 1629 tobacco exports totaled nearly 1,500,000 pounds. (MacInnes, C. M. Early English Tobacco Trade, 1926, p. 134.) See also Woodrow Wilson's Hist. of American People, Vol. II. p. 17.

George Hack of the Eastern Shore of Virginia (Northampton County) and his wife Anna. It is not known the exact year the Hacks came to America but there is some undocumented evidence that they were first in New Amsterdam before settling in Northampton County, Virginia near the town of Eastville, the county seat.[21] Whether Dr. Hack, a graduate of the Medical Department of the University of Cologne, practiced his profession in the Dutch village is uncertain, but he was living

[21] There has been some question as to the exact relationship between Augustine Herrman and Anna Hack. Some of the documentary evidence would lead one to believe that she was a full sister of Herrman. If we accept the account given by Čapek (page 8) and to which he seemed partially inclined to believe, Augustine Herrman, the son of Abraham, had three sisters, all of whom were apparently older than himself. Anna may have been one of them. If on the other hand we accept the Rattermann account of Herrman's parentage and the date of his birth being around 1605, we find that the father died about the year 1618. (See also J. G. Wilson, Hist. Soc. Proc., Vol. XI. Pt. 2, p. 21.) If such were indeed the case, we might suppose that Herrman's mother fled from Prague to Holland where she married a second time. If Anna Hack were the issue of the second marriage this would make her a half-sister of Herrman.

However, it would appear that Anna Hack was only a sister-in-law, if the following genealogical table is correct. (Court Minutes of New Amsterdam, in Records of New Amsterdam, edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, N. Y., 1897, Vol. I. p. 326, footnote.)

Casper Verleth or Verlett (Varleth), born in Utrecht; married Judith .....; later, 1666, wife of Nicholas Bayard.

Their Children

1. Nicholas married:
   (i) .....
   (ii) Oct. 1656 Anna Stuyvesant, sister of Peter Stuyvesant (and widow of Samuel Bayard).
2. Janneke, married Augustyn Heermans, Dec. 1650.
3. Anna, married George Hawke (Hack) of Virginia.
4. Maria, married:
   (i) Johannes Van Beeck.
   (ii) Paulus Schrick in 1658.
   (iii) Willem Teller in 1664.
5. Catherine, married Francis de Bruyn in 1657.
6. Sarah.

in Virginia by 1651, at which time he, with others, signed the so-called Engagement of Northampton whereby they promised to "bee true and faithful to the commonwealth of England as it is nowe constituted without Kinge or House of Lords."[22]

While practicing medicine on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, George Hack also engaged in the cultivation of tobacco; and it would seem that Anna Hack under her own name did business with Herrman in the tobacco traffic. It appears that it was nothing unusual for the wives of the early colonial planters to engage in business activities under their own names.[23] In return for tobacco Herrman sent to Virginia various commodities which on one occasion consisted of boards, a horse and a negro.[24] Only the slave arrived for in a law suit brought by Paulus Leendertsen, Van der Griest and Albert Anthony, assignees of Augustine Herrman in 1652, Anna Hack denies receiving anything but the negro.[25] As a consequence a quantity of her tobacco stored in New Amsterdam was seized and held for security. It appears that during the time Mrs. Hack was living in New Amsterdam and she insisted that the tobacco was her own private property sent to her by her husband from Virginia. The court ordered Herrman's assignees to prove that Mrs. Hack was indebted to his estate and whether the tobacco was sent in payment of such indebtedness; otherwise the court decreed that the attachment of the tobacco was null and void.[26] Nothing further about the case appears in the council records and it is likely that the case was dismissed without further inquiry. Moreover, Herrman was soon thereafter released from his creditors and the case was probably settled amicably.

[22] Virginia Historical Register, Vol. I (1848). p. 163.
[23] New York Geneal. and Biog. Record, Vol. IX. p. 54.
[24] Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin, Band I. p. 202.
[25] Dutch Mss. p. 129.
[26] Ibid.

Very friendly relations always seem to have existed between Herrman and the Hacks. Their lives and fortunes were united for a quarter century or more. The Verletts first settled in the Dutch Colony on the west bank of the Connecticut River, Good Hope, later Hartford; and if Anna was indeed the daughter of Casper Verlett she may have arrived in America around the year 1633; and it is possible that she was born at Good Hope. The Verletts subsequently became large land owners not only in Connecticut but also in New Netherland. Nicholas Verlett was among the early lawyers of New Amsterdam.

Joost Van Beeck was an agent in New Amsterdam for Herrman and engaged in the marketing of tobacco in his own name. On one occasion Herrman delivered four hogsheads of tobacco that had been inspected and passed. Later Van Beeck inspected the tobacco and found that the greater part of it was spoiled and not marketable, and proceeded to bring suit against Herrman. As we study the early history of the Dutch in New Amsterdam we find them to have been a rather quarrelsome folk and their daily transactions seem to have been filled with a continuous round of law suits. On this occasion Van Beeck lost the suit, the court claiming that he himself was present when the tobacco was inspected and if it was in bad condition he should not have received it.[27] The Dutch at this period were careful that all the tobacco that left the port was inspected properly, and the court judging that the inspector had been careless in his duties gave Van Beeck leave to sue him.

The culmination of Herrman's tobacco trade came about the year 1655. The price of Virginia and Maryland tobacco was low that year on account of the extensive culture of the

[27] Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. II. p. 119.

plant for that year.[28] On the other hand the price had not yet declined in the European markets. Herrman bought heavily and made a large profit. He was still able to transport the produce directly to Holland regardless of the fact that Cromwell had been at war with the Dutch since 1651 and was trying with unceasing vigor to stop the passage of tobacco to the port of Amsterdam. Though the Maryland and Virginia planters promised to obey the Navigation Act of the English Parliament, they did all they could to circumvent the law. The planters were jubilant when the news arrived that the Stuarts had been restored to the throne in England, believing that Charles II would immediately repeal the obnoxious Navigation Act of 1651. But their joy and enthusiasm was considerably dampened when news arrived that the king had not only refused to repeal the detested law of Cromwell but that he had passed by Parliament the Second Navigation Act which was even more rigorous and destructive to American commerce. By this act the ports of Jamestown and St. Marys were closed to all but English vessels. A storm of indignation arose in Virginia and Maryland; the price of tobacco was so low now that the planters could not afford to pay the exorbitant rates demanded by the English skippers. Thus the two great agricultural British colonies were at the mercy of tobacco, for it was their only source of income. Tobacco was indeed "King", and at that time it turned out to be something of a tyrant.

Yet the ingenious Herrman was equal to the occasion. Already in possession of a fair sized fleet of ships, he was able to break the blockade at Jamestown and St. Mary's and carry away all the tobacco he wanted to New Amsterdam or to

[28] Bruce, Philip A. Economic History of Virginia during the seventeenth century, 1896, Vol. II. p. 303. See Bruce also for account of fluctuation of prices of tobacco during these years.

Holland. When this plan became too dangerous the resourceful Herrman adopted other measures.

The Hacks had left Northampton County in 1659 and had gone to the extreme northeast corner of Maryland in what is now Cecil County where they bought extensive tracts of land.[29] Their plantations were located on the upper headwaters of Chesapeake Bay some twenty miles from the Delaware River, one of the largest called Hackston on the Sassafracx River. What tobacco Herrman could not get through the blockade at St. Mary's he had transported to Hackston by wagon road, thence to a port on the Delaware River and then to New Amsterdam by boat and wagon road. Although this must have been a troublesome and roundabout method, still the extra expense was not so great but what Herrman could give the southern planters cheaper rates to Amsterdam than were otherwise offered by the English traders. Herrman was able thereby to smuggle tobacco from the English colonies to New Amsterdam as long as he remained in the mercantile business.[30] Finally in 1664, New Amsterdam, apparently not much to Herrman's discomfort, passed from the hands of the Dutch to the British. Herrman became a loyal British subject; in fact he had become a subject of the British crown as early as 1660; and after the transfer of New Netherland to England he probably did some little export business directly from the ports of Jamestown and St. Mary's.

[29] Between the years 1659 and 1684 the Hacks acquired a total of 2270 acres of land in Upper Baltimore Co., Md., besides a tract called "Anna Catherine Neck". Hackston consisted of 800 acres granted June 21, 1662. Other grants were Wormust consisting of 450 acres; Resurvey of 470 acres and Hack's Addition, 150 acres, besides small tracts. Much of this land, however, was granted to Peter, the second son of George and Anna Hack, several years after Herrman had retired from active business. (Maryland Land Records, Annapolis.) The Hacks appear to have first gone to Maryland in 1658 (Md. Land Records, Liber 4, folio 17).

[30] Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. VI. p. 120.

In addition to being one of the foremost merchants of New Amsterdam, he was one of the largest landowners in New Netherland. It was in his capacity of a landowner, particularly his ownership of Bohemia Manor, that he is chiefly remembered; thereby obscuring for posterity his more spectacular career as a Dutch merchant and trader. But before Herrman acquired title to the vast tract of land in upper Maryland he owned considerable property on Manhattan Island and the vicinity. Although it is highly probable that Herrman owned land in New Netherland prior to 1647, the patent dated May 15 of that year is the earliest extant. It bears reference to a lot bought by "Augustyn Herman" near Fort Amsterdam, adjoining the lands belonging to the "company", that is, the Dutch West India Company.[31] During the next few years, his time being occupied with his various mercantile pursuits, he did not invest much in land. But in 1651 he began to buy heavily. March 31, 1651[32] he bought from Symon Joosten a lot on the east side of the Kolck, Manhattan Island. This land had been owned by two negroes, Paulo de Angela and Clara Crioole and their deed is one of the earliest extant in which a negro is shown to have owned land in America.[33] On July 17, 1651 Herrman sold his house to Cornelis Van Werckhoven, curator of the estate of Peter Gabry.[34] In December 1651 he purchased a vast tract which included all the land from "the mouth of the Raritan Creek westerly up unto a creek Mankackkewachky, which runs northwest unto the country, and then from the Raritan Creek aforesaid northerly up along the river behind States Isle (Staten Island), unto the creek, namely from Raritan Point, called Ourpage, unto Pechciesse, the

[31] Dutch Mss. Land Papers, p. 375.
[32] Ibid. p. 51.
[33] Dutch Mss. Land Paper, p. 51.
[34] Ibid. p. 54. Probably one of several houses owned by Herrman.

aforesaid creek, and so to the said creek Pechciesse up to the very head of it and from thence directly westerly thorowe the land untill it meets with the aforesaid creek and meadow Ground called Mankackkewackky aforesaid."[35] A few days later he purchased thirty thousand acres of land where the township of South Amboy (New Jersey) is situated and another large tract from Newark to Elizabethtown.[36] The next year, 1652, he bought large tracts north of the Haarlem River and with Adriaen Van der Donck he owned the greater part of what is now the city of Yonkers.

It could hardly be supposed that during these two years Herrman bought all this land for himself. At this period he was in business to make money and whether it was made on land or sea it mattered little. If we look at Herrman as the first operator of real estate on a large scale in New York, we find that he had about the same visions for the development of the city as were entertained by the Astors one hundred fifty years later. Much of the land that he bought he soon afterwards sold. Other land he bought on something like a brokerage system. The "Raritan Great Meadow" he bought directly from Cornelis Van Werckhoven, an influential member of the provisional government of New Amsterdam.[37] As early as 1639 it seems that he owned some land on Manhattan Island. When he saw that the tiny Dutch village was growing rapidly he bought houses and lots in the close proximity of the settlement. It appears that these houses and fields he rented.[38] Other lots he sold by a method that seems to closely resemble our modern installment or contract method of financing real estate, as there are instances where the buyer did not receive the deed

[35] Whitehead, East Jersey under the Propriety Govn. p. 19.
[36] Wilson, J. G. New Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc., Vol. XI. Pt. 2, p. 26.
[37] Broadhead, J. R. Hist. of New York, 1853, Vol. I. p. 537.
[38] Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. II. p. 384.

to the lot.[39] On one occasion a curious case was tried before the council in which one Severyn Laurens brought suit against Herrman to compel him to receive wampum in payment of the rent of a farm he had leased. The council decided that Laurens must pay his rent in grain as wampum was not "merchantable pay."[40] Just as tobacco was used as a form of money in Virginia and Maryland, so, no doubt, grain was so used in the early Dutch days.[41]

Herrman owned a large farm or bouwery on the site of the present Bowery. On this farm, Herrman had an orchard in which he took a good deal of pride. As late as the end of the eighteenth century the term, "Herman's orchard" was used to designate the district although, of course, the orchard had long ago disappeared. Adjoining the Herrman farm was the bouwery of the Director General, Peter Stuyvesant. Beyond a doubt they were quarrelsome neighbors, though it seems that they were able to get along socially better than politically, as we shall presently see; for in the next chapter we shall have occasion to discuss the historic controversy between the two. In passing we might observe at this point that much of the documentary evidence goes to show that while Herrman and Stuyvesant appeared to the world at large as implacable enemies, they secretly entertained a mutual respect and liking for each other in their private lives. They were among the first to erect "country estates" on the site of the present Bowery and they were influential in bringing other rich and influential citizens out from the narrow confines of New Amsterdam proper. By 1660 there were a number of good houses on the

[39] Ibid. Vol. pp. 160, 167, 183.

[40] Dutch Mss. Council Minutes. p. 239.

[41] For a comprehensive study of the use of tobacco as a form of currency consult Bruce's detailed work, Economic history of Virginia in the seventeenth century.

site and during this period of New York's history the Bowery was the exclusive district for the elite of the little Dutch city.[42]

In New Amsterdam itself, the best street appears to have been Pearl or Perel on account of its commanding a fine view of the East River. At the corner of Pine and Pearl Streets stood the Dutch West India Ware House. Adjoining this building was Herrman's "town house", a substantial mansion built in Dutch style of brick and stone.[43] It is thought that either the foundation of this house or of the warehouse next to it still serves for the foundation of subsequent buildings and that this wall alone is all that remains to be seen to the present day of the colonial Dutch architecture of New York City.

Herrman had another house in New Amsterdam which he thought suitable for himself and his family. It was not as fine a mansion as the one on Pearl Street nor did it command as fine a view of the river. This house was known as Smits Valley (along the East River from Wall to Fulton Streets). A New York Directory for 1665 gives this as the residence of the Herrmans. For that year he was assessed one guilder for the house.[44]

The brick mansion on Pearl Street Hermann likely reserved for those rarer occasions when he had important guests to entertain. As one of the chief burgers of the village he no doubt often entertained notable visitors from Holland. In this house Dr. George Hack and his wife lived while in New Amsterdam and here Herrman entertained other members of the Maryland and Virginia gentry who came to see him on business. The Englishmen of the southern colonies, probably because of

[42] Dutch Mss. Vol. I. p. 210.

[43] Close to Herrman's house on Pearl Street stood the "Stadthuys" (Town Hall) built about 1655. It was when built regarded as one of the architectural wonders of America. (Shepherd, W. R. New Amsterdam, 1917, p. 18.)

[44] Wilson, J. G. Hist. of New York, Vol. I. p. 338.

trade reasons, seemed to get along very well with the Dutch during this period; however, the Dutch did not get on so well with the settlers in New England. Up until 1660, at least, the most friendly relations seem to have been maintained between the southern planters and the Dutch burgers of New Amsterdam; for, as we have observed, the two nationalities were bound together by trade and economic ties. This amicable feeling was much strengthened by the Navigation Act of 1651 which tended to draw the Dutch traders and the southern planters closer together than before; and as long as Cromwell ruled in England, the Marylanders and the Virginians looked toward the Dutch to the north as their natural allies. New Amsterdam was at this time the largest town on the Atlantic coast and perhaps many visitors came there, as they still continue to do, if for no other reason than curiosity.

After Herrman took up his residence in Maryland at Bohemia Manor, he did not wholly withdraw from New York life. For a number of years he kept at least one house there. The last time his name appears in the annals of New York is in 1673, "House of Augustyn Heermans under the fort and bulwarks of the City of New Orange to be torn down."[45]

The last link between Herrman and New Amsterdam was now severed. The romantic Bohemian left his quarrelsome Dutch friends forever, and the last remaining possession of his once extensive New Netherland domain passed from his hands. Maryland henceforth was to be his home, where he was acquiring vast tracts of land in that colony.

As a great merchant and landowner engaged in business with a people inclined toward incessant argument and court

[45] Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. VII. p. 131. For an interesting account of the construction of Herrman's warehouse and his other New Amsterdam property see J. H. Innes, New Amsterdam and its people, 1902, pp. 33, 35, 54.

litigation, Herrman necessarily found himself involved in a number of lawsuits. Nicholas Verlett, his brother-in-law, acted for a while as Herrman's attorney, but apparently not to the complete satisfaction of either party. In 1644 Herrman was dealing in European wines. He had supplied Philip Geraedy and Isaac Abrahamsen, landlords of the "Wooden Horse", presumably a Dutch tavern. Geraedy and Abrahamsen claimed that they never received the wine, whereupon Herrman brought suit against them. He acts as his own lawyer and produces one Peter Hartgens and Abraham Jacobsen who testify that they had been told by the defendants themselves that they had received Herrman's wine. On the strength of this assertion and other evidence the case was finally settled in Herrman's favor. On another occasion Herrman was not so successful in massing his evidence and presenting his arguments. This was when he had brought suit against Adam Roelantsen for the passage money and the board for himself and his son on one of Herrman's ships, "The St. Jacobs". The defendant was able in this instance to prove that the skipper of the vessel, Haye Jansen, gave him his passage on the condition that he work as a seaman during the voyage, and allowed his son his passage for saying prayers, presumably, of course, for the entire crew. This argument Herrman was unable to answer and the case was dismissed.[46] Herrman, for that matter, was quite well versed in the law himself, and not infrequently acted as counsel for not only himself but for business associates. He could at times be quite eloquent when occasion demanded and in truth he can be said to have been one of the first of New York's attorneys.[47] Oftentimes members of his own family consulted him in matters of the law, seemingly putting more

[46] Dutch Mss. p. 105.
[47] Ibid. pp. 35, 37.

dependence in his judgment than that of their brother, Nicholas.[48]

So versatile were Herrman's intellectual accomplishments that he even set up a rude kind of bank at his house on Pearl Street, a scheme that proved successful for the financial arrangements of the little town; and in a sense we might even regard him as the prototype of that great profession that later made the lower end of Manhattan Island so renowned.[49]

Although the most amicable relations existed between the southern planters and the Dutch traders and merchants, the feeling between the English skippers and the Dutch were by no means so friendly. Perhaps it was quite natural that they should not be, particularly when we recall that the English traders could not offer as cheap rates for carriage as the Dutch; seeing, too, that their kinsmen, the southern tobacco planters, themselves were trying all kinds of methods—lawful or illegal—to get their produce shipped abroad in Dutch bottoms. Certainly the English skippers had deep cause to regard the Dutch traders with enmity. Although England and Holland were at war at various times during the seventeenth century, a real enmity between the people of the two nations had never been actually created; for certainly the English and the Dutch were bound together by many ties, economic, political and religious, ever to become real enemies. The pusillanimity of James I and the obstinate and undiplomatic mind of Charles I had given back to Spain the supremacy of the high seas which the English had won so spectacularly during the reign of Elizabeth. Although Spain and England were temporarily at peace, and the British at war with Holland, all statesmen, knowing the history of the three peoples, knew that such a

[48] Ibid. p. 38.
[49] New Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc., Vol. XI. p. 26.

condition of war and peace was highly artificial; and that sooner or later the old hereditary friendship and enmity would reassert itself. Peace, too, had been temporarily established between Spain and the Netherlands, but this, discerning statesmen knew too, was not a state of affairs likely to be of long duration. Spanish and Dutch ships seldom met on the high seas without glances of the old hatred flaring up in the hearts of the captains.

No one in America at this time understood the conditions in Europe better than did Augustine Herrman. He arranged his future program in conformity with his convictions, which ultimately proved to be correct. As his commerce with Europe increased, he found himself constantly in need of ships. England and Spain had set the precedent of privateering among the maritime nations of the world, and Herrman turned to this expediency to increase the size of his fleet. He found little difficulty in Holland of procuring letters patent to seize English and Spanish vessels, but Herrman determined to make use of his authority on ships belonging to Spain, regardless of the fact that his country was temporarily at peace with that nation. In 1646 articles of copartnership were signed between Herrman and Captain Blavelt of the privateer "La Garce".[50] With Jan Jansen Damen, Jacob Van Couwenhoven and others, he operated the privateer "Harpy".[51] On a number of occasions, "La Garce" made depredations upon Spanish shipping and when called to account for his action, the skipper of the vessel claimed that he was not aware of the fact that Holland and Spain were at peace.[52] Formerly one of Herrman's frigates had captured a Spanish vessel, "Tobasko", but the prize was denied

[50] Dutch Mss.
[51] Ibid. p. 47.
[52] New Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc., Vol. XI.

him by the Director General of New Netherland on the grounds that the ship had been taken long after the publication of the treaty of peace between the two countries.[53] There is no record of Herrman's privateers making depredations on English vessels even during the period of the years of actual hostilities between Holland and England, 1651-1664. There is reason to believe, on the other hand, that he gave express orders to the captains of his privateers not to molest English shipping, because he certainly could have captured vessels of that nation between the years 1651 to 1664 and yet been wholly within the law. Moreover, at this time he particularly courted popularity with the southern planters and during this period made trips to Virginia and Maryland. It may have been that on one of the occasions that he was making a visit with his kinspeople, the Hacks, on their estate in Northampton County, Virginia, that he met some of the leading families of the county, such as the Scarboroughs, Custises and Spencers, all of whom took leading parts in the governmental affairs of the colony. Charmed with the delightful social life of the southern colonies, particularly with the atmosphere of ease and elegance that probably reminded him of his early boyhood days in his native city, Prague, he determined to make preparations to leave New Amsterdam and settle among the English.

We must now turn our attention to that unfortunate period in the career of Augustine Herrman's mercantile life, namely his quarrel with Peter Stuyvesant, although we shall leave the political aspect of the controversy for a later chapter. For the beginning of the feud was essentially of a political nature, though it is not improbable that the headstrong old governor resented seeing Herrman, who was not really a Dutchman, prosper so amazingly and amass so much wealth. Herrman, as

[53] Dutch Mss. p. 226.

we have previously pointed out, bought vast tracts of land in the latter half of the year 1651, but much of this was apparently purchased for his friend Govert Loockermans, a wealthy New Amsterdam merchant and trader whom Stuyvesant had succeeded in ruining financially. Herrman tried to bear the entire burden of the debt and a year later found himself a ruined man. Added to these misfortunes, Herrman lost heavily in tobacco in 1652, compelled to sell below cost price. Herrman turned to Stuyvesant for aid but the vindictive old Dutchman not only refused to aid him but determined to make his plight all the more desperate. Herrman bore his misfortunes with coolness and manly fortitude. "In fine matters are so situated, that God's help will only avail, there is no trust to be placed in man." So he wrote to Anna Hack in Virginia. Mrs. Hack, upon hearing of the misfortunes of her brother-in-law, made preparations to go to New Amsterdam at once. The fortunes of the two families seemed so interwoven that a change in the financial affairs of one would naturally affect that of the other. Mrs. Hack appears to have had a successful business year in 1651 regardless of the First Navigation Act, possibly because Dr. Hack had courted favor with Cromwell by signing the Engagement of Northampton; and she was now in a position to be of help to Herrman. While Anna Hack was making preparations to make the trip to New Amsterdam, Herrman had made an assignment, putting his affairs in the hands of Paulus Leendersten and Albert Anthony.[54] When Anna Hack arrived in New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant made a serious effort to ruin her financially—the governor apparently being on a veritable rampage at the time, determining to wreck the fortunes of every one who crossed his path. But Mrs. Hack was a Dutch woman, apparently with much of the fiery

[54] New York Geneal. and Biog. Record, Vol. IX. p. 58.

temper of the governor himself. When she saw the conditions of things and what she had to face she determined to spend the winter of 1651-1652 in New Netherland regardless of the rigorous climate. Her brother-in-law's enemies instituted one law suit after another against her, but she was able to win every one.[55] By the spring of 1652 conditions had become greatly changed. Just exactly what occurred that winter in the house on Pearl Street, likely we shall never know all the details. But it seems that Herrman and Anna Hack met their creditors and changed them from bitter enemies into fast friends. Perhaps Stuyvesant, harsh and rough, tempestuous and vindictive, as he undoubtedly was, finally succumbed to the graces of the Virginia lady, proving then as it does so often now that one can accomplish more by gentle rather than by rough ways. At any rate the Stuyvesants, Herrmans and Hacks remained staunch friends and allies.[56] In May 1652 Stuyvesant stipulated that Herrman's creditors abide by the valuation to be fixed by Pieter Wolphertsen, Van Couwenhoven, Schepen and Frederick Flipsen on his property in New Amsterdam.[57]

[55] Dutch Mss. p. 129. The above episode tells much of the ability and business sagacity of Anna Hack who appears to have taken much more interest in the tobacco trade than her husband Dr. Hack, who according to Wise was actively engaged in the practice of medicine in Virginia.

[56] In October 1656 Anna, sister of Peter Stuyvesant and widow of Samuel Bayard, married Nicholas Verlett, brother of Anna Hack. (Court Minutes of New Amsterdam, ed. by E. B. O'Callighan, N. Y. 1897, Vol. I. p. 326 footnote.) Throughout this history the above genealogy of the relationship between Herrman and Anna Hack is accepted as the accurate version. However, the above episode points strongly in the direction that Anna Hack may have been either a full sister or a half-sister of Herrman. But inasmuch as the financial affairs of the Hacks were closely interlocked with those of Herrman it was certainly not unnatural for a sister-in-law of Herrman to rush to New Amsterdam to try to help him from the hands of his vindictive creditors.

[57] Dutch Mss. p. 129.

Herrman's assignees had been discharged two months before.[58] At the end of May, 1652 Herrman was granted "Liberty and freedom" by the council and excused for having broken the company's seal, "Having settled with his creditors".[59] During her visit to New Amsterdam Anna Hack strengthened her business relations with Herrman and in the course of the next few years it seems that both parties benefitted financially by the arrangement; for, as we have seen, Herrman made large sums of money in 1655, while the same year and subsequently the Hacks acquired large tracts of land in Maryland, at the same time adding to their Virginia estates.[60]

[58] N. Y. Geneal. and Biog. Rec., Vol. IX. p. 58.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Dr. George Hack died about the year 1665, but Anna continued to buy land and to deal in tobacco. She lived until around 1700 and at the time of her death was among the largest landowners of the women of her time. For account of Hack estates see Maryland Land Record Index, Annapolis.

Chapter III

AUGUSTINE HERRMAN AS ONE OF THE "NINE MEN" AND HIS QUARREL WITH PETER STUYVESANT

When Peter Stuyvesant first set foot in New Amsterdam he described the village as being in "low condition".[1] In fact the town may have been in low condition in more ways than one, but the new governor had reference to only the military aspect. His contempt for the community he thought was justified, when he found only three hundred men in the whole of New Netherland capable of bearing arms.

But if Stuyvesant had reason to find fault with New Amsterdam, the village burgers were no less cautious of their laudatory remarks about him. Yet in all justice for Stuyvesant, for that matter any Director General might have appeared unpleasant to these colonial Dutchmen, regardless of how charming his personality was and how gracious he might have been in extending a glad hand upon his arrival. Kieft and his predecessors were unpopular and Stuyvesant was certainly anything but a gracious and charming individual, neither in personal approach nor in address; and in this instance neither the dignity of his office nor the furious outbursts of his temper could quite compensate for the lack of graciousness in the new Director General or cause emotions of much pleasantness in the hearts of his people. Moreover, Governor Kieft had left affairs in such a chaotic state and it was common knowledge that the States-General had sent Peter Stuyvesant to adjust

[1] Brodhead, J. R. Hist. of New York, Vol. I. p. 465.

their affairs in America. The Dutch colonists, realizing that a good many things needed adjusting, were justly fearful as to how the new governor was going to begin and how far he was likely to go.

His entry into New Amsterdam has been described as being "like a peacock with great state and pomp".[2] One of the principal inhabitants of the village later spoke of him as the "czar of Muscovy, who kept some of the principal men waiting for hours bare headed while he himself remained covered".[3] This appellation seemed curiously appropriate to Stuyvesant and one that has ever since clung to his memory.

"Finally Stuyvesant began to speak and under the blue heavens loudly declared that every one should have justice done to him. This assurance was received by a somewhat gayer group by judging him by his haughty carriage, caused some to believe that he would not be a father."[4]

Regardless of his shortcomings, which seem to have been many and sometimes grossly apparent, Stuyvesant was very much a man of the world, and he had the good sense to realize that he was to rule over a group of men as self-willed and obstinate as himself. He proceeded with a due amount of caution, considering his natural hasty temper and his precipitate ways of doing things. It can be said of him that he did make an honest effort to please the people and found that what they really wanted was a representative form of government. Upon this discovery the new Director General decided to govern his subjects with a really high hand and to allow no compromises.

The twelve men under Van Twiller who had been called together in face of the Indian menace and to discuss matters

[2] Ibid.
[3] Brodhead, p. 465.
[4] New York Hist. Soc. Coll. Col. II. p. 308.

of taxation with the governor, and the Eight Men under Kieft had possessed very little influence and had commanded less popular respect. The leading men of the village at the time of Stuyvesant's arrival determined that the governor's council should be a real force in the administration of the province. Upon learning how far the republican principles of government had diffused themselves among the people, Stuyvesant determined to act without delay. Thus began that memorable rule of Peter Stuyvesant, consisting of a long series of heated verbal battles, threats and remonstrances, hatreds, personal jealousies and family feuds; all of which was eventually to culminate in the downfall of Dutch power in North America.

Stuyvesant's first act was to reorganize the council, naming to it Van Dincklage, the vice director; Van Dyck, the fiscal; Commissary Keyser; Captain Bryan Newton; La Montagne; and the provincial secretary, Cornelius Van Tienhoven.[5] The treasury was extremely low and Stuyvesant thought it wise to replenish it by popular taxation. The people, remembering the grand principle of the Fatherland, replied to Stuyvesant's plan, "Taxation only by consent". The people did not consent and not a guilder went into the public coffers. The Governor in the meantime had received intelligence of an Indian war; and remembering how ill equipped the burgers were for warfare, decided to compromise for this one time at least. The Council recommended the principle of representation as the best way to levy taxes; so in this manner, "Necessity produced concession and prerogative yielded to popular rights".[6] Technically, at least, Stuyvesant lost his first battle.

On September 25, 1647 the following nine popular tribunes were sworn, "to conduct themselves reasonably and be faithful

[5] Brodhead, Vol. I. p. 466.
[6] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 473.

to their instructions." This Board consisted of Augustine Herrman, Arnoldus Van Hardenburg and Govert Loockermans who represented the merchants; the citizens or burgers were represented by Jacob Wolfertsen, Jan Jensen Damen and Hendricks Kip; Michael Jansen, Jan Evertsen Bout and Thomas Hall representing the farmers. Čapek says that the board on which Herrman sat consisted of but eight men; but he probably confused the Nine Men of Peter Stuyvesant with the Eight Men of Governor Kieft.[7] For the first two years Herrman was president or chairman of the Nine Men; and in 1649 was replaced by Adriaen Van der Donck, Herrman continuing to serve as vice-chairman. Six men retired annually to be replaced by an equal number selected from twelve names sent in by the Board as a whole. The sessions were held in David Provoost's school. The institution of the Nine Men of New Amsterdam was the precursor of the Burgomasters and Schepens and eventually of the municipal form of government of New York.[8] Twice was Herrman returned and on the list for February 2, 1652 his name was absent. One year later the Nine Men went out of existence; out of the seven Herrman served six continuous years.

When the board of Nine Men was instituted it was thought that it would prove to be the remedy for the maladministration that had formerly characterized the government of New Amsterdam. But reforms were slow in coming. Peter Stuyvesant proved a capable match for the combined vigor of the tribunal and in the end he generally had his way. His administration was troubled by various outside influences. War with the Swedes broke out in 1648. Trouble arose with the New England colonies and Dutch trade at New Amsterdam was

[7] Čapek, p. 13.
[8] O'Callighan, E. B. Register of New Netherland, p. 55.

crippled. Herrman and Loockermans, the two most prominent merchants and influential men of the town, suffered most. They appealed to Stuyvesant to ask aid of the home government against New England's gradual encroachment upon their maritime rights that up to the time were undisputed. For various reasons, partly because of his naturally arbitrary temperament and partly because he entertained a jealousy of the power and wealth already controlled by these men, the governor would not yield to their pleas. He continued in his usual obstinate mood and ruled more arbitrarily than before. In 1649 the energetic and capable scholar and jurist, Adriaen Van der Donck was given a seat in the Council. Van der Donck, Herrman and Loockermans, finely matched for energy, wits and accomplishment, formed a kind of triumvirate against Stuyvesant and from that time on there was nothing but incessant trouble. These men fully realized that the Nine Men was a popular tribunal chosen at an election at which all the inhabitants of Manhattan, Brenckelen (Brooklyn), Amersfoort and Pavonia chose "eighteen of the most notable, reasonable, honest and respectable persons" from their towns; and from whom, "as it is customary in the Fatherland", the Director and the Council were to choose a group of Nine Men to represent New Amsterdam and the outlying jurisdictions, whose duty it was "to advise and assist, when called upon, in promoting the welfare of the province at large."[9]

This action was an additional development toward representative government and, as we have pointed out, any theory or practical accomplishment that tended toward popular rule outraged the governor. The duties and powers of the Nine Men were proclaimed by the Council, much against Stuyvesant's wishes. "Nothing is more desirable than that New

[9] Brodhead, Vol. I. p. 474.

Netherland and principally New Amsterdam our capital and residence might continue and increase in good order, justice, police, population, prosperity and mutual harmony, and be provided with strong fortifications, a church, a school, trading place, harbor and similar necessary public edifices and improvements."[10] Brodhead regards this proclamation as "in some respects a chart of popular rights",[11] the first of its kind to have been formulated and recognized in New Netherland.

Little by little the powers and authority of the Board of Nine Men centered in the hands of Herrman, Van der Donck and Loockermans. Since, after numerous appeals to the Governor, and finding him more and more self-willed, they determined to send in their own name a delegation to Holland. But before resorting to this extremity, they decided to make one more appeal to Stuyvesant. The Board applied to him for leave to confer directly with the commonalty. The Director General grew more recalcitrant and moodily replied in a "very long letter" that "communication must be made through the Director and his instructions followed."

Almost at once open conflict began between the Director General and the Nine Men. The people were prevented from assembling to voice their approval of their representative body. Van der Donck kept a journal of the proceedings of the Nine Men; but one day, as it was thought, the record and other papers were stolen from his house during his absence.[12] The next day, March 4, 1649, Van der Donck was placed under arrest. One member of the Council, the Vice-Director, Van Dincklagen alone opposed Stuyvesant's arbitrary proceeding and demanded that Van der Donck be admitted to bail, but his

[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 501.
[12] O'Callighan, Register of New Netherland, p. 56.

request was refused. Finally it was agreed to release him but to remove him from the Board of the Nine Men. Van Dincklagen alone opposed this measure and the council removed the popular jurist.[13]

Soon afterwards occurred another event that was decidedly disadvantageous to Stuyvesant. The directors of the Dutch West India Company, on the pretext that war might break out at any time with the Indians, appealed to the governor for munitions. The Director General ordered a case of arms from Holland. The munitions came in due time, "in the full light of day" at Fort Amsterdam. The people, seeing the munitions unloaded and believing that some treachery was abroad, complained that "the director was everything, and did the business of the whole country, having several shops himself; that he was a brewer, and had breweries; was a part owner of ships, and a merchant and a trader as well in lawful and contraband articles."[14] Stuyvesant deigned not to notice these popular murmurings against his character and prerogative, believing himself secure now since Adrian Van der Donck, whom he regarded as the cause of all the unrest and iniquity of the colony, was removed from his seat of authority.

But Van der Donck, because of his activities in sponsoring measures to increase popular representation in New Netherland and on account of his education and the charm and dignity of his personality, was a popular hero of the Dutch burgers; and now since the incident of the case of firearms, whereby they thought they had certain reason to be suspicious

[13] When Herrman was asked what action he thought ought to be taken against Van der Donck, he gave an evasive reply much to Van der Donck's advantage. Apparently at this time Herrman did not think his party strong enough to come to open conflict with Stuyvesant. (Documents rel. to the Col. His. of N. Y., Vol. XIV. p. 111.)

[14] Brodhead, Vol. I. p. 504.

of Stuyvesant, they turned toward Van der Donck and looked upon him in the light of a persecuted martyr for their liberties and rights. Herrman and Loockermans, noticing how the tide of popular feeling was turning in favor of their fallen leader, took advantage of the situation. They called a secret conference with Van der Donck to which was also admitted Van Dincklagen, whom they certainly had every good reason to believe was on their side. These four leaders believed that the time had come for them to openly unite and to put an end to the arbitrary methods of rule so long practiced by the Dutch governors. On July 26, 1649, the Memorial of the Nine Men to the States General of the Netherlands was prepared. The memorial called for more colonists and a better system of co-operation between the home government and the colony; and that a treaty with England be made in order to determine the boundaries of New Netherland, so that the "subjects might dwell in peace and quietness."[15]

With the Memorial was attached a petition of the commonalty of New Netherland to the States-General, prepared the same day, signed by the Nine Men and by Van der Donck, whose name headed the list.

Two days later the famous Remonstrance or "Vertoogh van Nieu-Nederland" was drawn up, framed mainly from suggestions offered by Herrman and Van der Donck, who wrote the document, and signed by the Board of Nine Men. The names of Herrman and Van der Donck head the list. The Remonstrance is a masterful piece of prose and deserved to take an important place among those major documents of the world that have secured the liberties of the human race. It begins by outlining the history of New Netherland, a task peculiarly

[15] Holland Documents in O'Callighan's Doc. rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y., Vol. I. p. 260.

fitted for Van der Donck, as he was later the author of the first history of the colony.[16] It asks that a new and better kind of administration be set up by the States-General in the province in lieu of the one that in so many instances had nearly proved fatal for the colony. It pointed out that the province was large and fertile, capable of supporting a large body of emigrants from the home land; that if the home government were but to spend a little more time, money and labor in support of the colony it would not be many years until it would be opulent and highly productive; and that it would prove a source of unfailing income for the Fatherland, and help Holland to take a paramount place among the maritime nations of the world. The tone of the Remonstrance was scholarly and respectful; it contained neither word nor hint of threat of revolt or self-government. It was merely an address of grievances which had accumulated since the province was established. Rather in asking for independence, the Remonstrance really pleaded for a closer union between the mother country and New Netherland.[17]

One Olaff Stevens was one of the signers of the Remonstrance and after his name made the curious annotation, "under protest. Obliged to sign as to Heer Kieft's administration".[18] Both the Memorial and the Remonstrance were sent to Holland with a delegation consisting of Van der Donck, Van Couwenhoven and Jan Evertsen Bout.[19]

Peter Stuyvesant naturally was furious when he learned of

[16] Beschryvinge van Nieuw-Nederlant. Beschreven door Adriaen Vander Donck, Amsterdam, 1656. This book contains the famous Visscher map and the sketch of New Amsterdam drawn by Herrman.

[17] The full text of the Remonstrance is given in Holland Documents in O'Callighan's Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., Albany, 1856, Vol. I. pp. 275-318.

[18] Ibid. p. 318.

[19] Ibid. p. 258.

the action of the Nine Men. But the unconquered old veteran did not give public vent to his rage as formerly one would have surmised. Nowhere is there a better instance in Stuyvesant's career in respect to his ability and latent powers of diplomacy. In handling the situation he employed a subtlety and craft that seems unusual in one of his ordinarily explosive temperament. His provincial secretary was Cornelius Van Tienhoven, "a Cautious, subtle, intelligent, sharp witted" man who was familiar with the character of his enemies and their facts. He had long been a sort of favorite of Stuyvesant and therefore experienced little difficulty in persuading his master to appoint him as a special ambassador to Holland and to be allowed to take along with him certain exculpatory documents among which was one of an unusually laudatory nature from the magistrates of the English settlement at Gravesend who declared their confidence in Stuyvesant's "wisdom and justice in the administration of the commonwealth."[20]

While Van der Donck and his party were waiting to embark for Holland, Van Tienhoven secretly left for that country fourteen days before the official delegation carrying the Memorial and the Remonstrance. Nevertheless, fate worked in favor of the Van der Donck party; for Van Tienhoven, delayed on the water for several days on account of storms and bad weather, actually reached Amsterdam a few days after the Remonstrance had been presented at The Hague. Nevertheless, Van Tienhoven found that he had scored a certain amount of success over his enemies. Formality required that colonial delegations first present memorials and petitions to the Dutch West India Company in Amsterdam to be forwarded to the States-General at The Hague. Van der Donck, either not familiar with the formal etiquette, or knowing of it and

[20] Brodhead, Vol. I. p. 509.

deciding to take no cognizance of it, did not stop at the Amsterdam offices of the great trading company. When the Amsterdam officials of the Dutch West India Company learned of Van der Donck's action, they were highly indignant that he should have the presumption to pass over their heads. To Van Tienhoven's delight, they told him that the signers of the Remonstrance were "silly persons who had been imposed upon by a few worthless persons," probably referring to Van der Donck. On the other hand, however, the document was not dismissed in such cavalier fashion at The Hague; for when the States-General had read the Remonstrance, they saw at once that it was a sincere portrayal of conditions of New Netherland. Realizing the gravity of the situation, they dismissed the delegation, promising that their wishes would be attended to; that they would receive more colonists; that a court of justice would be set up in the province; and that the boundaries would be determined. In fact, the States-General promised to look after all the important points recommended in the Remonstrance, going so far as to rebuke Stuyvesant for his arbitrary rule and promising to force a speedy reform in the administration of New Netherland. The delegation was jubilant over the outcome of their mission, not yet aware of the fact that Van Tienhoven was in Holland doing all he could to undo their good work. Van Couwenhoven and Bout, after obtaining letters from the States-General forbidding Stuyvesant to molest them, prepared to depart for home; while Van der Donck decided to remain in Holland for a while. Meantime, Van Tienhoven was active, determined to make another serious effort to ruin the efforts of the delegation. Remaining in the Netherlands during the winter of 1649-50, he worked so subtly and craftily that he was nearly successful in accomplishing his purposes; and he may have succeeded had it not

been for the fact that he was found living with the daughter of a basketmaker in Amsterdam as man and wife and was arrested for bigamy. In 1650 he was released from the charges and proceeded with his consort to New Amsterdam. On his way across he was fortunate enough to capture a Portuguese ship, which prize he conducted to the Dutch village and was received by Stuyvesant almost in triumph, regardless of the fact that he had utterly failed in his mission.

The rebuke of the States-General did something to lessen the arbitrary rule of Stuyvesant. Under the advice and influence of the subtle Van Tienhoven, the Director General turned his vengeance from the populace and concentrated his thoughts in a determination to ruin financially Herrman and Govert Loockermans. In order to accomplish his ends he used a most effective expedient. In 1648 the English colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island had forbidden both their citizens and the Indians to trade with the Dutch.[21] At first Stuyvesant had strongly objected to this measure and determined to use force in order to defend Dutch commerce, inasmuch as he found that his own personal trade interests were undergoing much damage. Among others who insisted upon the free rights of the seas were Herrman and Loockermans, whose business dealings with the northern colonies were more extensive than those of the governor. Stuyvesant thereupon turned the weapon which he formerly had disliked so much toward the destruction of the commerce of these two merchants; and for a while he was quite willing to see his own trading transactions decline in an effort to level the fortunes of his two avowed enemies.

Regardless of the laws of the New England colonies, Herrman continued to send his ships to their harbors. In May 1651 he was caught trading with the Indians at Saybrooke. His ship

[21] Brodhead, Vol. II. p. 496.

was seized and he was ordered to pay fifty pounds for its release.[22] Herrman, knowing that it was useless to appeal to Stuyvesant, paid the fine. At the end of the year, as we have heretofore pointed out, he bought large tracts of land in New Netherland and in New Jersey, much of it apparently for his friend Govert Loockermans.[23] But as it happened Loockermans was as unfortunate as Herrman in his business dealings. In September 1651 Herrman wrote the following letter, apparently to Adriaen Van der Donck who was still in Holland:[24]

I wish I felt authorized to advise you of better news. The Redress remains still behind, contrary to our expectation. We are not only threatened and affronted, but shall also be totally ruined. Govert Loockermans is totally ruined, because he will not sign that he knows and can say nothing of Director Stuyvesant, but what is honest and honorable. I fear we, too, shall experience a like fate; whether we have safeguards from their High Mightinesses or not, 'tis all alike; the Directors have written not to pay any attention to their High Mightinesses' safeguards or letters, but to theirs; and everyone can see how prejudicial that is to us. We are turned out and dare not scarcely speak a word, etc. In fine, matters are so situated, that God's help only will avail; there is no trust to be placed in man. That infernal swaggerer (blasegeest) Tienhoven, has returned here and put the country in a blaze. Things prosper, they report, according to their wishes, to which I know not what to answer, etc.

The basket maker's daughter of Amsterdam whom he seduced in Holland on a promise of marriage, coming here and finding he was already married, hath exposed his conduct even in the public court, etc. Your private estate is going all to ruin, for our enemies know how to fix all this and to attain their object. There is no use in complaining; we must suffer injustice for justice. At present,

[22] Colonial Records of Connecticut, 1850, Vol. I (1636-1665). p. 219.
[23] Whitehead, W. A. East Jersey under the Prop., pp. 19, 20.
[24] O'Callighan, Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., Vol. I. p. 453.

that is our wages and thanks for our devotion to the public interests. Yet we still trust in God, etc.

(Signed) Augustin Hermans.

As one of the Nine Men of New Amsterdam, Herrman had occasion to write to Van der Donck a few months previous:[25]

His Honor (Stuyvesant) has been to the North and there entered into a treaty respecting the boundary, etc. but keeps everything concealed from us and from his council. We fear the news from New England (a translation whereof is annexed) which was secretly brought and thrown into a certain house here, is too true, inasmuch as 'tis confirmed by daily rumors. We at least hope and request that you will be particular in calling the attention of their High Mightinesses our Sovereigns thereto, whenever the Treaty between the Director and the English comes up for ratification.

The News from New England is a satirical account of Peter Stuyvesant's mission there. It runs in part:

"The governor of New Netherland has been received and treated like a prince wherever he passed; for which he expressed himself very gratefully. . . They finally drew and got him so far along by a sweet and right subtle line, in order howbeit, to reach the matter itself, that they have mutually referred their differences about the boundaries, etc. to four Arbitrators."[26]

The letter continues telling how the arbitrators (two of whom were Dutchmen) finally wrested every point from Stuyvesant's favor and how he in the end agreed with their decision. However:

"When the report was shown him Peter cried out, 'I've been betrayed! I've been betrayed!' which hearing, some of the English who had been waiting outside, supposed that he had run mad, and were disposed to go and fetch people to tie him. It seems that he never imagined that such hard pills would be given him to digest. New England is thoroughly united with the Dutch governor to

[25] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 459.

[26] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., Vol. I. pp. 460-61.

her satisfaction and is well content with him, speaks of him in great praise, especially because he is so liberal and hath allowed himself to be entrapped by her courtesy, and hath conceded Greenwich, etc.

"Finally 'tis resolved to send the aforesaid Treaty to the West India Company, the States and Parliament in order that it might be ratified as early as possible."

We have in the preceding chapter shown the outcome of this historic controversy between Herrman and Stuyvesant so far as its economic consequences are concerned. By the summer of 1652 both Herrman and Loockermans were on the road to financial recovery, rapidly winning back their former commercial supremacy of New Amsterdam. For the past few years these two men, together with Adriaen Van der Donck, had been regarded by the people as the chief spokesmen of representative government. By the fall of 1652 the fires of rage and bitterness burned with a less ruddy glow in the breast of the old Dutch governor. When the people realized the disastrous treaty he had made with the English and saw the territories of New Netherland more and more encroached upon, they turned against Stuyvesant. Stuyvesant had chosen badly in the way of friends and advisors. Van Tienhoven, his closest ally and confidant, was in complete disgrace. From the middle of the year 1652 Stuyvesant underwent a profound change and he realized that he could govern the province with less effort and with greater credit to himself with the support rather than the enmity of such powerful leaders as Herrman, Loockermans and Van der Donck. The quarrel between Stuyvesant and this popular triumvirate and the importance of the issues growing out of it is worthy of further study and contemplation; one immediate result was the decline of Dutch prestige in America and the final annexation of the whole of New Netherland to the British dominions.

Chapter IV

AUGUSTINE HERRMAN: THE DIPLOMAT

Augustine Herrman's first mission of diplomacy can hardly be said to have resulted in much credit to himself or in much honor to his chief. This was not because of any shortcoming in the ability and capacity of the ambassador, but more because of the fickleness of the Dutch governor. Herrman for once was caught off his guard; and the episode proved to be an ingenious way whereby Peter Stuyvesant and his creature, Van Tienhoven, again placed him in an embarrassing situation. In April 1652 Adriaen Keyser and Herrman proceeded to Rhode Island as special envoys from New Amsterdam. George Baxter, one of the magistrates of the English colony, Gravesend, and a personal friend of Van Tienhoven, gave the Dutch ambassadors a letter to be delivered to William Coddington, governor of Rhode Island.

Herrman and his companion were received in Newport with all marks of respect becoming their high office, and everything was proceeding so satisfactorily that it seemed certain that the representatives of both colonies could go ahead in a friendly manner with what business was to be transacted. All went on perfectly until the letter was opened. When read before the General Assembly of the English colony, a cold silence reigned over the hall; and when the Rhode Islanders had recovered from their surprise, and their anger and indignation were aroused, they ordered the two astonished ambassadors to be seized. To their utter consternation Herrman and

Keyser were accused of conspiring with Stuyvesant and Baxter to subvert the government of Rhode Island.

No less surprised was Herrman when the letter was read, for among other things which Stuyvesant had written was a proposition made to Governor Coddington to send an army from New Amsterdam to aid the English governor in subduing his own colony.[1]

The indignation ran so high in the Rhode Island General Assembly that the two representatives of Stuyvesant were arrested and obliged to give bail to the amount of one hundred pounds,[2] each until they could prove that they were innocent of the crime connoted by the contents of the letter. This put Herrman in a very awkward position, for at the time he was just beginning to recover from his financial depression, and with all his close friends hard pressed for funds. They were finally released from confinement at Newport. Upon returning to New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant refused to see either Herrman or Keyser; but after much trouble they were able to procure letters proving them innocent of intention to start an insurrection in Rhode Island and ignorant of the contents of the ridiculous letter.

"The Director, Van Tienhoven and Baxter", wrote Herrman, "still remain great amigos and companions daily resorting each others company to the great suspicion and probability of what is above related."[3]

[1] One can well doubt the authenticity that Stuyvesant wrote the letter. The whole thing does not make sense. It might be regarded as a practical joke on the part of either Baxter or Van Tienhoven. Or was Stuyvesant himself above such a prank?

[2] This sum would represent about twenty-five hundred dollars of present day money. See Bruce, P. A. Econ. Hist. of Virginia in 17th century.

[3] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., Vol. I. pp. 497-98.

It scarcely seems creditable that Herrman would again trust Peter Stuyvesant or serve him again in a diplomatic mission; yet he must have been a man who could easily forget past injuries. However, there is no record that Stuyvesant ever tried to play the same trick upon Herrman, and whether the Newport incident was merely a graciousless prank we have no means of knowing. At least it apparently cleared the atmosphere in their relations, for in the forthcoming years it was not repeated.

In 1651 Herrman had married Janetje Verlett, daughter of Casper and Judith Verlett and sister of Anna Hack. In 1656 their brother, Nicholas the attorney, married Anna, widow of Samuel Bayard and sister of Peter Stuyvesant.[4] These marriages no doubt helped to clear the troubled conditions and to form alliances between the Herrmans, Hacks and Stuyvesants.

By 1653 trouble between New England and New Netherland was becoming acute, mainly because of the First Navigation Act (1651), an act which was heartily welcomed in New England both because it tended to promote their trade and because it had been passed by their Puritan brethren in England. On May 26, 1653 Herrman was sent to Boston with a reply to the letter of the commission and an abstract of "Passages" between New England and New Amsterdam.[5] Nothing is known of these transactions other than the fact that Herrman was able to appease the New Englanders and no doubt but what he acquitted himself with much credit.

On May 30, 1653 Stuyvesant wrote to Richard Bennet, governor of Virginia, recommending "Augustyn Heermans to his courtesy".[6] This may have had reference not merely for

[4] See Verlett genealogy, footnote 1. page 11 of text.
[5] Brodhead, Vol. I. p. 554.
[6] Dutch Mss. p. 278.

ambassadorial duties but for private trade adjustments, because the following year Stuyvesant wrote a similar request to Bennet asking that some reparation be made to Herrman by Edward Scarburgh, who owed him for some tobacco.[7] In 1658 Herrman was a member of a group of four who were sent to treat with the Esopus Indians.[8]

For a number of years the Dutch province had been constantly menaced by a new enemy toward the south. Since 1634 New Sweden on the east coast of Delaware and New Netherland had been engaged in a few small and indecisive skirmishes; but it was not until the year 1655 that the Dutch finally prevailed over the Swedes and their power was shattered. This new territory was divided into Altoona and New Amstel, the older Swedish inhabitants being gradually absorbed by the Dutch or moved away to the English settlements. The dissolution of New Sweden, however, was a tactless adventure of the Dutch, for now they were placed in proximity to the English, with all the accompanying border disputes. Had the colonial Dutchmen been a little more experienced in the technicalities of diplomacy, they would have been glad to have had New Sweden remain as a kind of border state between New Netherland and Maryland. To offset the danger, on the other hand, New Amsterdam and the southern English colonies—though they, for the most part, remained loyal to the Stuart cause—were drawn closely together for economic reasons brought about by the Navigation Act of 1651. Regardless of this friendly feeling, however, trouble did break out between the two provinces, Maryland and New Netherland; and it was

[7] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., Vol. XIV. p. 205. This may have been the celebrated Colonel Edmund Scarburgh, one of the most influential citizens of the Eastern Shore of Virginia during the middle of the 17th century.

[8] O'Callighan, Register of New Netherland, p. 156.

in the adjustment of this trouble where Herrman found a golden opportunity to display his rare powers in the art of diplomacy.

In 1656 Stuyvesant, the board of burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam determined to colonize more completely the west bank of the Delaware River. Permanent settlements were ere long established at Horekill (Lewes), New Amstel (Newcastle) and on the west side of the river at Passaying (Philadelphia).[9] In 1659 Governor Fendall of Maryland began to look upon all these new Dutch settlements so near his borders with anything but a kindly eye. Believing that the time was ripe to prevent further colonization on the part of the Dutch, Governor Fendall sent Colonel Nathaniel Utie to inform the Dutch that they were trespassing upon English territory.[10] When the Director General heard of this, he raged and fumed in his usual manner and with his customary impetuosity asked the Dutch deputies at New Amstel why they had not treated Utie as a spy instead of bargaining with him.[11] Herrman, once again in high favor with Stuyvesant, seeing the seriousness of the situation, proposed a conference between representatives of the two provinces; whereupon he and Resolved Waldron were appointed special ambassadors to Maryland. "Peter Stuyvesant", began the Dutch governor in a letter to Governor Fendall, "in behalf of the high and mighty lords States-General of the United Provinces, the noble lords overseers of the authorized West India Company, as the Director General of New Netherland, Curaçao, Bonaire and Araba, and the apurtenants of them, with the advice of the lords in coun-

[9] Neill, E. S. Terra Mariae, 1867, p. 159.

[10] Hazard, Samuel, Annals of Pennsylvania, p. 266.

[11] Ibid. Also Maryland Archives, Vol. III (Proc. of Council), pp. 366-369; 375-378.

cil, to all men that these shall come to see and hear, salut. . . ."[12] In this letter to Fendall, Stuyvesant refers to Herrman and Waldron as "our trusty agents", and in another letter he calls them "our well beloved and trusty Augustine Heermans and Resolved Waldron."[13] When the directors of the Dutch West India Company in Amsterdam heard of these new settlements, and being unfamiliar with the geography of the English colonies, gave vent to their indignation in a fiery letter addressed to Stuyvesant, blaming him for his lack of tact and for the departure of so many Dutchmen to Virginia.[14] In all justice to Peter Stuyvesant it ought to be stated that if his administration was no more successful than it was, it may have been because it seemed his misfortune to be continually caught between two fires—the rebellious nature of his freedom-loving subjects and the unreasonable attitude and haughtiness of the authorities in Holland.

During his trip to Maryland Herrman kept a journal of his travels from New Amstel to Patexent in St. Mary's County, Maryland. He quaintly and charmingly describes the country and the people, narrating the following anecdote:

"A certain savage met a Dutchman at Whorekill and told him that he would kill a Dutchman because his father had been killed by a Dutchman before, to which the Dutchman replied that his father had been killed by an Englishman and therefore ought to take revenge on them, on which the savage went off and killed an Englishman."[15]

In the preamble of the colonial charter of Maryland occurs this phrase, "in a country, Hactenus unculta (generally trans-

[12] Hazard, Annals of Pa. p. 269.

[13] Ibid. p. 271.

[14] Ibid. p. 277 and Albany Records, Vol. IV (Mss.), pp. 310-312.

[15] Herrman's Journal is published in full in O'Callighan's Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., Vol. II. p. 88; also in Hazard, Annals of Pa., p. 288.

lated "hitherto *uncultivated*", but more properly, "hitherto *unsettled*") by Europeans" in reference to the boundaries of the province indicative of how far the colonists might go in relation to other settlements. In other words the Marylanders were authorized to settle anywhere which was not already occupied by the European stock or territory not claimed on rights of previous discovery. No one in Maryland paid much attention to the phrase, holding it to be merely descriptive. It was, however, this very phrase which the judicious Herrman seized upon at the conference with Governor Fendall. With "exemplary gravity" the Dutch envoys proceeded to show how the Dutch as the rightful heirs of Spain were only claiming that which had been discovered by Columbus and claimed for Ferdinand and Isabella.[16] Upon this unlooked for piece of deduction and erudition Colonel Utie lost his temper at being so completely routed by Herrman and Waldron, that Governor Fendall had to call him to order, and apologized to the Dutchmen for this discourteous breech of diplomatic etiquette.[17] That evening, however, complete harmony was restored at a dinner given in honor of the two distinguished and learned Dutch ambassadors, at which Philip Calvert was present. On the 20th of October, 1659 Waldron started on his return trip to New Amsterdam while Herrman proceeded to Virginia to "inquire of governor (Bennet) what is his opinion on the subject to create a division between them both, and purge ourselves of the slander of stirring up the Indians to murder the English at Accomac."[18] In Virginia Herrman met his brother-in-law, Nicholas Verlett and Captain Bryan New-

[16] Tansill, Chas. C. Pennsylvania and Maryland Boundary controversy, Washington, 1915, p. 19; Macdonald's Select Charters, p. 12.

[17] Tansill, p. 21.

[18] Neill, Terra Mariae, p. 160.

ton and with Governor Bennet they established a "free trade and commerce" treaty between Virginia and New Netherland.[19]

Herrman spent the winter of 1659-60 in the southern colonies and it appears, too, that he made a trip to the West Indies, as we find him asking permission to make a voyage to the Dutch and French Islands and for letters of recommendation to the governors.[20] The report of the Maryland mission is dated at St. Mary's, 21 October, 1659, so we can judge that after that date his time was free.[21] It was most likely during this time that he turned over in his mind the thought to leave New Amsterdam and to settle permanently in either Maryland or Virginia. In the late autumn of 1659 he met his wife, who came down from New Amsterdam on a ship to Jamestown, and both passed the winter with their sister Anna Hack, who was still living in Northampton County, Va. That winter may have been particularly gay for the Herrmans, used to for so many years the rigorous winters and the more or less drab social life of the Dutch in New Amsterdam. No doubt they enjoyed the mild climate of the Eastern Shore and the life of ease and gaiety that just about this time was beginning to be popular with the southern planters, especially after the influx of the scions of the nobility and gentry of England who had fled the homeland after the advent of Oliver Cromwell. The social life that Herrman lived in Virginia during this winter probably reminded him of his youthful years at Prague, then at the height of her brilliant career, just before the era of religious persecution. Always a man who liked people, Herrman

[19] Brodhead, Hist. N. Y., Vol. I, p. 683 and Doc. rel. Col. Hist. of N. Y., Vol. II. pp. 98-100.

[20] Dutch Mss. p. 204.

[21] Doc. rel. to Col. Hist. of N. Y., Vol. II. pp. 99-100.

likely met the Custises and the Scarburghs, the Lees, the Carters and the Randolphs and other great landowners of the Eastern Shore and the mainland.[22]

At any rate it appears reasonably certain that when the winter of 1660 had hardly begun he resolved never again to make New Amsterdam his permanent home. He had during the past few years become reasonably well-to-do again and he turned his attention toward buying an estate in either Maryland or Virginia. That he made up his mind to settle among the English colonists early in 1660 is shown by the fact that on January 14 of that year he received his letters of denization from Maryland that permitted him to own property though he did not become a naturalized citizen until 1669. We know that he did not entirely alienate himself from New York as he served on a jury there in 1666.[23] It is quite probable, too, that during his early years as a resident of Maryland he made frequent trips back to the Dutch province. It would seem that when Herrman left New Amsterdam in 1659 on his diplomatic mission with Governor Fendall that he then had no serious intention not to return when his work was finished. He had, apparently, become entirely reconciled with Peter Stuyvesant who, at least, was paying him obvious marks of respect by appointing him to dignified and responsible posts. He certainly left considerable property in the Dutch town and his various business connections would have demanded his presence part of the time there after 1660.

Yet, on the other hand, when we examine more minutely Herrman's character, his breadth of mind and vision; when we recall how shamefully he had been treated by the capricious Stuyvesant, we must wonder whether Herrman did not have

[22] Wilson, J. S. A Maryland Manor, Pub. by Md. Hist. Soc. ii. p. 9.
[23] Rec. of New Amsterdam, Vol. VI. p. 33.

secret plans when he left New Amsterdam in the late summer of 1659 never to return as a permanent resident.[24] Herrman was not a Dutchman nor did he have the slow moving methodical mind of the colonial Dutchman of New Amsterdam. His later life shows that he was fond of a good deal of pomp and show as well as refinement and elegance; he had a pronounced taste for scholarship and learning and took a keen delight in things artistic. These cultural longings certainly Herrman could have but partially satisfied in those early days of New York's development and which alone could be had only in the southern colonies. On the whole, as we look more deeply into his character and personality, Herrman had more in common with the Virginia planter than with the Dutch merchant. There were other reasons why New Amsterdam life became distasteful. The most cultured man in the Dutch province and one of Herrman's most intimate friends, Adriaen Van der Donck had died in 1655.[25] Govert Loockermans seems to have disappeared from the annals of New Amsterdam after 1652 and it is not known what became of him. Since Herrman makes no further mention of him it is not improbable that he died or moved away.[26]

With his wife's people, the Verletts, he seems to have got along well enough though there seems to have been no un-

[24] Since Herrman was made a denizen of Maryland, Jan. 14, 1660, it would seem that he had in mind such intention sometime before that. Applications for such privileges were no doubt slow moving in those days.

[25] Van der Donck finished his legal course at Leyden University, receiving his degree, Supremus in jure, April 10, 1653. Late that year he returned to America. In 1645 he had married Mary Doughty, daughter of Francis Doughty, an English minister of New Amsterdam. He was probably buried in the old Dutch cemetery on the west side of lower Broadway. See Valentine's Manual, 1856, p. 444.

[26] The main street of Dover, Del. is named Lockerman. It is possible that Loockermans went to that vicinity after 1652.

Cæcilius absolute Lord and Proprietary of the Provinces of Maryland and Avalon Lord Baron of Baltimore &c To all persons to whom these presents shall come Greeting in our Lord God Everlasting Whereas Augustine Herman late of Prage in Bohemia Merchant having of long time used the trade of this our Province hath brought over to Plant unto him selfe to transport himself and family into this our Province here to inhabite and for our satisfaction and the benefitt of Trade hath drawne a Mapp of all the Rivers Creeke and Harbors thereunto belonging Know yee that we willing to give our Encouragement to men of his profession and to reward all such as have well deserved of us Doe hereby declare that the said Augustine Herman to be a true Denizen of this our Province of Maryland And doe further for us our heires and Successors straitly Enjoyne constitute ordeine and commande that the said Augustine Herman be in all things held reputed and esteemed as one of the Legitimate People of us our heires and Successors borne within this our Province of Maryland And likewise any Lands Tenem[ents] Hereditam[ents] whatsoever within our said Province of Maryland may lawfully or otherwise purchase receive take have hold buy and possesse and the same may occupye and Enjoye give sell alien and bequeathe as likewise all Liberties Franchises and Privileges of this our Province of Maryland freely Quietly and peaceably have and possesse occupye and Enjoye as our Legitimate People borne or to be borne within our said Province of Maryland without the Let Molestac[on] Vexation Trouble or Molestacon of us our heires and Successors any Custome to the contrary not withstanding Given at Saint Maryes under the great Seale of our said Province of Maryland the Fourteenth day of January in the nine and twentyth yeare of our Dominion over the said Province of Maryland Anno Dom[ini] One thousand six hundred and sixty Wilnes our Deare Brother Philip Calvert Esq[r] our Lieutenant of our said Province of Maryland

Philip Calvert

1660

usual intimacy between him and Nicholas. Yet the one person other than his wife who seems to have exerted more influence on his life was Anna Hack. Regardless of the fact whether she was his own sister or only the sister of his wife, she was always ready and willing to aid him and to offer advice and suggestions; and if necessary to come to blows with Peter Stuyvesant himself in Herrman's behalf. If she were indeed his real sister she would have been his only relation in America and it was quite natural that he would have turned to her.

Yet probably there was still another reason, more effective than the foregoing, why Herrman decided to cast his future fortunes with the English rather than with the Dutch. His remarkable intellect and his logical mind could hardly have failed to tell him that the Dutch empire in America was doomed. In order to understand that he needed to know only the history of that province and compare it with the history of the English colonies. New Netherland had been established mainly for trading purposes; and as the colony grew this objective had never been lost sight of in place of a purpose more vital to the life of an empire. With only a few exceptions the people remained clustered around New Amsterdam and Manhattan Island, quite content to cultivate their tiny fields of vegetables when but for the asking they might have had large plantations to develop. The great patroons along the Hudson were independent in many respects from the regulations of the Director Generals, and it probably mattered little to them whether the Dutch or the English ruled in New Amsterdam. On the other hand, though the English colonies had been founded as trading companies, the settlers and the local authorities had soon lost sight of that objective as the raison d'être of colonial expansion. Soon they had begun to scatter, to hew new fields out of the virgin wilderness. Little by little these

English settlers had encroached upon Dutch territory and, due to a number of ruinous treaties made by the Dutch governors, the English finally found themselves in possession of land that legally was not theirs.

The English kept up a direct communication with the homeland and a change of administration in England quickly made its influence felt here. The Stuarts had been, for the most part, wise monarchs in the handling of colonial affairs; and the governors whom they sent to America were, with some notable exceptions, liberal minded men who were not disposed to rule in an arbitrary fashion, nor were they ordered to do so by the Stuart kings. The real ruling bodies in the English colonies were the general assemblies; and though this seemed at times to operate more in theory than in fact, a way was generally found for a colony to get rid of an over-bearing governor. For this reason a feeling of freedom and self exertion grew up in the English colonies, encouraging the settlers there to push back the frontier toward the fertile lands of the west.

On the other hand the government of Holland had but a loose connection with New Netherland, persisting in the belief that the colony existed merely for trading purposes; it left the appointment of the governors mainly in the hands of the great trading companies, particularly of the Dutch West India Company, which, as we have pointed out in the case of when the Remonstrance was presented in Holland, guarded their prerogative with an almost absurd formality. The trading companies made the still greater mistake in their persistence that the essential qualities of a Dutch governor consisted of a disposition toward arbitrary rule, obstinacy and lack of ability to compromise; whereas what was actually needed was a man of the opposite type. In every instance the four Dutch governors of New Netherland were men of this kind—arbitrary, un-

tactful and unresourceful in emergencies. Furthermore, neither the home nor the local authorities encouraged the Dutch settlers to scatter and to form new settlements in that vast territory that beyond a doubt legally belonged to them by right of discovery and former occupancy. Not only were the Dutch colonists not encouraged to make new settlements, but in instances virtually forbidden to do so, as in the case of Van der Donck when he wished to form a new settlement near Fort Orange, such numerous obstacles were placed in his way that he gave up the attempt in despair. Stuyvesant was not wholly to blame for this narrow view of colonial expansion; for, as we have pointed out, the directors of the Dutch West India Company subjected him to severe reprimand because he allowed a few new settlements to be made in New Sweden. Yet had he been a man of real ability and vision he would have found a way to have carried out his views. After an interval of three hundred years it is interesting to reflect upon the fate of the Dutch in North America if they would have had such governors as Augustine Herrman, Adriaen Van der Donck or Govert Loockermans.

Such then were the conditions in New Netherland about the year 1660. We can certainly suppose that Herrman was fully cognizant of all the shortcomings that attended Dutch rule there. The three greatest men that New Amsterdam had produced were lost to her, and Stuyvesant had to handle the reins of government of the colony the best way he could.

Thus things dragged on for another four years. Then came the fatal day. Colonel Nichols appeared in the harbor before Fort Amsterdam and demanded an unconditional surrender. The Dutch burgers actually rejoiced when the ultimatum of the Englishman was read to them. The doughty old governor alone wanted to fight; but his subjects prevented even a sem-

blance of resistance. Without the firing of one fatal shot a piece of fertile territory reaching from the Connecticut River to Delaware passed overnight from one nation to another, a land watered by one of the most majestic of American rivers, bearing the name of a great Dutchman. Furthermore, this amazing transfer was made amidst the rejoicing of the vanquished. It all seems a little absurd. Probably there is no other instance in England's history, perhaps not in the annals of any nation, where such a large and fertile territory was conquered by so peaceful a method. And what is better: there is hardly a parallel in history where the occupation by the conqueror was made in so peaceful and orderly a manner. No change whatever was made in Dutch life and customs; everything continued in the usual quiet and easy-going style. There may have been the usual grumbling and quarreling, of course; but that was of a personal rather than a political nature. The Dutch of New Amsterdam simply got up under one administration and went to bed under another; there was very little else to the episode.

In the rest of the life of Herrman we shall not have occasion to refer much to New Amsterdam, or New York, as it was now to be called henceforth with the exception of a brief period of time when it was again under Dutch rule (1673-1674). But there are one or two episodes in Herrman's life which will be related in due course; and then we shall have occasion to show his connection with the growing Dutch town.

Chapter V

PREPARING THE MAP OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

Before we commit ourselves to the precise reason why Herrman cast his fortunes with the English after 1659, it will be necessary to trace the origin of his conception to prepare a map of Maryland. At an early age he had shown marked talents toward design and map-making. Did Herrman study design and drawing either in Prague or Amsterdam? Čapek suggests that Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677), a Bohemian exile, was Herrman's early instructor.

"Might not have Herrman taken lessons in art drawing from his famous countryman? Hollar drew perspective views, costumes, insects, geometric figures, even maps. On page 38 of Vertue's (George) biography we read that 'Hollar drew an exact map of America.' That these two, Hollar and Herrman—who were townsmen, born in Prague—knew each other is certain."[1]

The earliest view of New Amsterdam that has come down to us is from the pen of Herrman. It was first published as an embellishment to Nicholas Van Visscher's map of New Netherland (1650) and later appeared in the second edition of Van der Donck's "Beschryvinge van Nieuw-Nederlant."[2] In 1660 the view of the village was sent to Amsterdam, "to make it more public by having it engraved".[3] The engraving repre-

[1] Čapek, Thomas, Augustine Herrman. Praha, 1930, pp. 11-12.

[2] Brodhead, Hist. of N. Y., Vol. I. p. 561.

[3] Ibid. p. 674. What Brodhead here means no doubt is a larger engraving than what had appeared on the Visscher map or in Van der Donck's History. Jasper Dankers speaks of the engraving on Visscher's map in 1650. Memoirs Long Island Hist. Soc., Vol. I. p. 230.

sents New Amsterdam from the East River, showing the characteristic Dutch houses facing the river on Pearl Street. It is not unlikely, too, that Herrman may have rendered some aid to Visscher in preparing the map itself, the full title being, "Novi Belgii Novaque Angliae necnon partis Virginiae. Tabula multis in locis emendata a Nicolo Joannis Visschero".

As early as October 1659 Herrman had seen the necessity of having an adequate map of Maryland. In a letter for that date he wrote to Peter Stuyvesant:

> "But first of all, the South River (Delaware) and the Virginias, with the lands and hills between both, ought to be laid down on an exact scale as to longitude and latitude, in a perfect map, that the extent of country on both sides may be correctly seen, and the work afterwards proceeded with, for some maps which the English have here are utterely an imperfect and prejudicial to us. The sooner this is done the better, before Baltimoor whispers in the ears of the States of England, and thus make the matter much more difficult."[4]

This letter is of the utmost importance in a discussion as to why Herrman made his decision to become a British subject. The letter was apparently written some few days after the conference with Governor Fendall; and certainly expresses the greatest loyalty to the Dutch point of view. There is no reason to believe, however, that Stuyvesant was impressed with Herrman's suggestion; nor can one easily understand how Stuyvesant could be of much aid in having a map of Maryland drawn other than proposing to Governor Fendall that such a map be made by a joint commission of the two provinces.

[4] Maryland Archives, Vol. III (Proc. of Council), p. 398. See also, P. Lee Phillips, The Rare Map of Virginia and Maryland, 1911, p. 5. At this point, too, it is essential that we recall that in the Remonstrance it was stated that the boundaries of New Netherland be determined.

Three months later Herrman was made a denizen of Maryland, preparing for his naturalization nine years later; and from that time on he was lost to New Amsterdam. In the denization of Herrman, reference is made to him, "hath drawn a map of all the Rivers, creeks and Harbours."[5] As it would have been utterly impossible for him to have drawn the map we now know in this short period, we can only infer from this statement that Herrman during the winter of 1659 traveled here and there in Maryland and Virginia, comparing his charts with previous maps, and submitting a rough draft to the Maryland authorities. We know that a few days before Herrman wrote to Stuyvesant, he had met Philip Calvert, brother of Lord Baltimore, at a dinner given in honor of the two Dutch envoys; but if we believe Herrman sincere in his letter to the Dutch governor—and there is no reason to think otherwise—Calvert had not at the time made much of an impression upon him, nor can we believe that at the time his mind was made up to become an English citizen. On all points of personal honor we have reason to believe Herrman to have been strict.

In the light of all this evidence it would appear that something very much as follows took place from the day he talked to Calvert to the time he decided to become a denizen of Maryland: Possibly the night Herrman met Calvert, or a few days afterwards, he discussed with the brother of the proprietor of Maryland the need of a new map of the province, no doubt hinting that he himself would be able to produce such a map. Calvert was interested but did not commit himself; nor did Herrman, for that matter, before he had time to write to Stuyvesant. When Stuyvesant gave either a negative or evasive reply or, what is more likely, no answer at all, Herr-

[5] Phillips, p. 5.

man felt quite at liberty to withdraw from New Amsterdam and proceed with what arrangements he could make with Calvert.

Information relative to Herrman's actual preparation of the map between the years 1660-1670, the date of his finishing it, according to an inscription, is scant. Although his name occurs at frequent intervals in the colonial records of Maryland during those years, it is usually in connection with some lawsuit or to some public office to which he had been elected.[6] Up until 1662 he made frequent trips back to New Amsterdam to liquidate his business interests there. For his permanent residence he chose a place on the Bohemia River, so named by himself after his native land. In 1658 Dr. George and Anna Hack had acquired four hundred acres of land called "Anna Catherine Neck", so named, perhaps, after their two daughters, in the upper headwaters region of Chesapeake Bay and in what is now Cecil County, Maryland.[7] It is possible that the Hacks may have spent part of the winter of 1659-1660 here and that Herrman stopped with them a while after his mission at St. Mary's was finished. Seeing the natural beauty and the fertility of the soil here, he decided to settle on an adjoining estate. Herrman's house lay in latitude 39 degrees, 45 minutes. By 1661 he must have acquired a large amount of land there, as he refers to a colony and expresses a hope that people will come to settle there. During the next decade it is likely that the greater part of his time was consumed making constant trips to Virginia and the eastern side of Delaware Bay.

It took eight to ten years to gather the material for the map, with a total expenditure of some two hundred pounds of

[6] Maryland Archives. Prov. Court; Proc. of Council; Proc. of General Assembly. Index vols.

[7] Maryland Land Records, Annapolis, Liber Q. Folio 456.

money (equivalent to about five thousand dollars in present-day currency; or possibly somewhat more since the devaluation of the gold dollar).[8] Quite unfortunately Herrman left no written record of his travels during this period. Considering the vast amount of wild and only half-explored territory that he had to traverse, we can lament the fact that he did not keep some kind of diary, which today would be of incalculable worth, telling us so much about the people and conditions in the out-of-the-way places in Maryland and Virginia. The work was finished in 1670 by Herrman's "only labour and endeavor", as he himself states.

Probably the next three years were taken up with the placing together of all the many sketches and charts; and the map as we know it now plotted. The original drawing was sent to England in 1673[9] and engraved by an artist by the name of William Faithhorne. According to Thomas Čapek, William Faithhorne in 1654 was living in the same house near Temple Bar, London with Wenceslaus Hollar, the eminent Bohemian engraver and etcher.[10] The Herrman map is said to be the only extant work of Faithhorne.[11] The map was dedicated to King Charles II.[12] The following advertisement appears in the London Gazette for 1674, No. 873:

[8] Phillips, P. Lee. Rare Map of Va. & Md. p. 5.

[9] The whereabouts of the orig. MS. map is not known.

[10] Čapek, p. 10, citing for his authority, p. 131 of George Vertue's biography of Hollar.

[11] Attached to the original copy of the Herrman map in the North Library, British Museum is a small note apparently written in the late 17th century or early 18th century on fly leaf. "Virginia and Maryland, surveyed by Herrman, engraved by Faithorne. fo. 1673 with head of Herrman by Faithorne. This is the only map known to be engraved by Faithorne & is of the greatest rarity. It is so beautifully executed as to make one regret that there should be no other of the same hand."

[12] Vincent, F. Hist. Delaware, 1870, Vol. I. p. 373.

"There is now extant a new map of Virginia and Maryland in four sheets, describing the Countries and the situation of the Plantations in the said countreys, with the Rivers, Creeks, Bayes, Roads and Harbors on the sea-coasts. Published by His Majesties especial License and are sold by John Seller, Hydrographer to the King at his shops at the Hermtage in Wapping and in Exchange Alley in Cornhill, London."[13]

The map, consisting of four sections, when put together measures thirty-seven and one-quarter inches in width by thirty-one and one-quarter inches in height.

Apart from its geographic significance, Herrman's map has true artistic merit; and is to be regarded as a masterpiece of seventeenth century design and engraving. Added to this, the quaint phrasing of the descriptive annotations gives it high rank in the literature of the chronicles of that adventurous century. In the southeast section is a highly ornate inscription plate, standing on a pedestal with an acanthus on either side. On the pedestal is written the legend of the map. Indian houses and plantations, for instance, he represents by a curious diagram, resembling a covered wagon without the wheels and body. On either side of the inscription plate are the figures of two children, a boy and a girl some ten or twelve years of age, probably intended to represent Indian children, but certainly not with Indian facial characteristics. The figure on the left, the boy, is carrying a bow and arrow. The figure of the maiden on the right with the long, flowing hair, holding in her left hand what looks much like a doll or a small animal; and her right hand pointing to the inscription:

[13] Phillips, p. 9. For many years it was believed that the copy of the map in the North Library of the British Museum was the only one extant. However, within the past decade another copy was discovered in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island.

VIRGINIA
AND
MARYLAND

As it is Planted and
Inhabited this present
Year 1670 Surveyed and
Exactly Drawne by the
Only Labour and Endeavor
of

Augustin Herrman
Bohemiensis

Surmounting the inscription plate is a highly ornamental shield in the center of which is a heart from which springs a trifoliate plant and beneath crossed arrows. On the top of the shield is a Neptune head.[14] On either side resting obliquely on the top of the inscription plate are clusters of leaves and fruit, classic in design, but probably emblematical of the fertility of the soil of the two colonies.

On the left of the inscription is a mariner's compass; on the right a mason's compass. At the points are two scales, the upper line showing a scale of eight English leagues and the line below designating a scale of twenty-five English miles. In the northeast section of the map is an admirable engraving of Herrman, doubtless drawn by himself. He is represented as having a large, well-formed head, inclined to the oval, handsome and regular features, with sharp though sympathetic eyes. A small moustache together with a small growth of hair directly below his lower lip and his long flowing hair, apparently natural, inclined to curl over his shoulders, give him the characteristic Stuartesque and cavalier appearance of the late seventeenth century. This bust engraving of Herrman is set in an oval frame, bearing his name, Augustine Herrman Bo-

[14] We may suppose that Herrman was familiar with classical mythology.

VIRGINIA

MARYLAND

CAROLI NÆ PARS

DELAWARE

NEW JARSY PARS

THE NORTH SEA

DITT AT MON DROIT

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

Published by Authority of his Ma^ties Royall Licence and particuler Priviledge to Aug. Herrman and Thomas Villenbrook for Sixteen yeares from the year of our lord 1673

W. Faithorne Sculp^t

The Map of Virginia and Maryland. Drawn by Augustine Herrman and engraved by William Faithorne, London, 1673. From the original in the British Museum

VIRGINIA
AND
MARYLAND

As it is Planted and
Inhabited this present
Year 1670 Surveyed and
Exactly Drawne by the
Only Labour and Endeavor
of

Augustin Herrman
Bohemiensis

Surmounting the inscription plate is a highly ornamental shield in the center of which is a heart from which springs a trifoliate plant and beneath crossed arrows. On the top of the shield is a Neptune head.[14] On either side resting obliquely on the top of the inscription plate are clusters of leaves and fruit, classic in design, but probably emblematical of the fertility of the soil of the two colonies.

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hemian.[15] To the right of the portrait is a representation of an Indian canoe, paddled by seven men, but apparently not Indians, as can be noted by their European hats. Beneath is the inscription,

"An Indian canoe made out of a Tree with their Battles or Oares with Manner of Rowing over the Rivers."

Directly beneath is the name of the engraver, W. Faithorne, Sculp.

In the extreme southeast section of the map is the imprint:

"Published by Authority of his Ma.ties Royall Licence and particuler Priviledge to Aug. Herman[16] and Thomas Withinbrook his Assignce for fourteen yeares from the year of our lord 1673."

In the northwest section is the Coat at Arms of the Lords Baltimore, in the west central section of the map is the Great Seal of England with the familiar "Dieu et mon Droit". Far toward the northwest, beyond the habitations, are depicted the mountains. To show how little informed were the most educated Englishmen of Virginia and Maryland of the seventeenth century of the vast size of the American continent, we quote the following description of these mountains that Herrman inserted at the top of the map:

"These Mighty high and great Mountains trenching N.E. and S.W. and W.S.W. supposed to be the very middle range of Northern America and the only Natural cause of the fierceness and extreme Stormy cold winds that come N.W. from thence all over the Continent and makes frost. And as Indians report from the other side westwards doe the Rivers take their origen all issuing out into the West Sea especially first discovered a very

[15] The name on the portrait is spelled "Augustine"; the one on the inscription plate, "Augustin", showing vagrancies of 17th century spelling.

[16] The vagrancies in the spelling of proper names during the 17th century is truly astonishing. On the map Herrman spells both his first name and last name differently.

great River Called the Black Minequaas River (possibly the Ohio River) out of which the Sassquahana forte meets a branch some leagues opposite to one another (likely the Allegheny) out of the Sassaquahana River where formerly those Black Minequas came over and as far as Delaware to trade but the Sassaquahana and Sinnicus Indians went over and destroyed that very great Nation and whether the same River comes out into the Bay of Mexico or the West Sea is not known. Certain it is that as the Spaniard is possessed with great store of Mineralls at the opposite side of these mountains the same treasure they may in process of time afford also to us here on this Side when Occupyed which is Recommended to Posterity to Remember."

In conformity with a custom used by early cartographers, spaces of territory about which little is known were described by brief annotations. As can readily be appreciated in the present instance such descriptions were confined mainly toward the western part of the map. But there are others, too:

"The land between James River and Roanoke River is for the most part Low Sunken Swampy Land not well passable but with great difficulty. And therein harburs Tygers Bears and other Devouringe Creatures."

West of Henrico is another curious annotation:

"Here about Sr. Will Barkley conquered and tooke Prisoner the great Indian Emperor Abatschakin, after the massacre in Virginia Ano."

The most westerly portion of Virginia Herrman calls Mount Edlo.

"This name derives from a person that was in his infancy taken Prisoner in the last Massacre over Virginia. And carried among others to the Mount, by the Indians which was their Watch Hill, the country there about being champion and not much Hilly."

South of Mount Edlo is

"The Goulden or Brass Hill. With the fountain out of the Hill

issued forth a glistermge stuff sand like unto the filings of Brass, and so continued downwards this Neck, that the very ground seemed to be covered with the Same Brassy stuff."

Describing the sources of the York and Mattapanye rivers, Herrman says:

"The Heads of these two Rivers Proceed and issue forth out of low Marshy ground, and not out of hills or Mountains as other rivers doe."

"The Great Sassaquahana River runs up Northerly to the Sinnicus about 200 miles with Divers Rivers and Branches on both sides to the east and west full of falls and Iles until about 10 or 12 miles above the Sasquahana fort then it runs cleare but south southwards not Navigable but with great danger with Indian canoes by Indian pilots."

Fort Sasquahana is represented by a quaint drawing of low arched roofed houses surrounded by a palisade. Between the Sassaquahana and the Schuylkill rivers he inserts this annotation:

"Between the heads of these opposite Branches being swampy is but a narrow passage of Land to come down out of the main continent into the neck between the two great Rivers."

New Jersey he designates as,

"New Jarsy Pars at present inhabited only or most by Indians. These limits between Virginia and Maryland are thus bounded by both sides Deputies the 27th. May Ao 1558 marked by dubble Trees from the Pokomoake East to the Seaside to a creek called Swansecut cr."

The Carolinas are marked as Carolinae Pars, the Atlantic Ocean is described as the North Sea and in "the Great Bay of Chesepeake" Herrman draws two sailing vessels winding their way toward the "Potowmeck."

Attractive and beautiful as the map appears to us, Herrman claimed that the engraving did not do justice to his original drawing.[17] He said his map "was slobbered over by the engraver Faithorne defiling the prints by many errors."[18] That the map was the most nearly accurate of the region up to that time no one pretended to deny and it has since been used for the basis of other maps. One of its defects was that the mouths of the James, York and Rappahannock rivers were drawn far out of proportion to Chesapeake Bay, but this could hardly be called a major error.[19]

Regarding this map Lord Baltimore wrote that "Herrman hath taken great pains in order to the drawing and composing of a certain Mapp or card of our said Province. . . ."[20] On another occasion Baltimore "Humbly refferrs for greater certaynty" to Herrman's map.[21] Washington in a more reserved but equally laudatory manner speaks of this map, "It was admirably planned and equally well executed."[22] In the license for its exclusive publication, King Charles II also speaks of the map in warm praise, "being a work of very great pains and charge and for the King's especial service. . . ."[23] But the principal encomium on the accuracy of Herrman's map came nine years later when indirectly Sir Isaac Newton came into the argument during the historic Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary dispute between Lord Baltimore and William Penn. In

[17] The whereabouts of the original drawing of Herrman's famous map is unknown. Likely it was destroyed, yet who knows but that some day it will be found. What a treasure it would be! See Phillips Rare Map of Va. & Md.

[18] Fite and Freeman, A book of old maps, Harvard Univ. Press, 1926. p. 151.

[19] Matthews, E. B. Maps and mapmakers of Maryland; and Phillips, p. 11.

[20] Maryland Archives, Proc. of Council (1671-75), pp. 18-19.

[21] Phillips, Rare Map of Va. and Md. p. 10.

[22] Fite & Freeman, p. 151.

[23] Great Britain, Cal. State Papers. Col. Am. & W. Indies (1669-74), p. 551.

1682 Newton had determined the exact width of a degree of latitude; and it was discovered that Herrman, having determined the fortieth degree latitude by means of a sextant, had placed it on his map at the exact location where Newton found that it should be.[24]

Although Herrman's map played a paramount part in this famous boundary controversy, first between Penn and Baltimore and later their heirs for nearly one hundred years, we can in this present work narrate only the part in which Herrman himself was concerned.[25]

In determining the northern limit of Baltimore's claim, Herrman, in plotting the map, used as a basis and authority Maryland's charter which called for lands that "lie under the 40th degree."[26] Fort Sassaquahana lies on the fortieth parallel on Herrman's map. Penn at first agreed that Fort Sassaquahana should be used as the southern boundary of his lands and his charter was written to read "North from the 40th degree", instead of saying parallel, which was more precisely what he meant. A short time afterwards Penn, having consulted Herrman's map, was surprised and chagrined to find that the fortieth parallel came north of the navigable part of the Delaware River.[27] At once he gave notice that his former acceptance to the boundary was "merely a formal notice".[28] Penn, consulting the Maryland charter of 1632 found that his own lands should extend south "under the 40th degree". Penn at once seized upon this technicality and declared that Charles I in his charter to Calvert could have meant only one thing,

[24] Tansill, Pa. & Md. Bd. Dis., pp. 43-47.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Thorpe, F. N. American charters, Vol. III. p. 1678. For a concise statement of facts of the Maryland Boundary Dispute, the reader is referred to the brilliant essay on the question by Tansill, Note 2.

[27] About eight miles north of the present city of Philadelphia.

[28] Tansill, p. 33.

namely, that Maryland's lands should begin from the end of the 40th degree, that is the thirty-ninth parallel. In this way the historic controversy arose.

It was in this way that Herrman was brought directly into the dispute: His estate, Bohemia Manor, was located about midway between the thirty-ninth and the fortieth parallels.[29] In November 1682 William Markham, Penn's deputy, made arrangements with Herrman to meet Lord Baltimore at Bohemia Manor and discuss with them the situation. When Baltimore arrived at Herrman's house he learned that Markham was unable to keep his appointment on account of illness.[30] Thereupon another interview was arranged, but Penn's deputy did not keep even that. Shortly afterwards Penn most tactlessly wrote to Herrman and five of his neighbors, advising them to pay no more taxes to Baltimore because their lands would soon be included in the colony of Pennsylvania.[31] This message was no sooner received than Herrman communicated it to his friend and benefactor, Lord Baltimore. After two years of fruitless endeavor, Baltimore finally tracked down Markham and insisted upon an interview. But neither Penn nor Baltimore could come to any satisfactory agreement; nor did their heirs or their children's heirs. Finally the long drawn out controversy was settled in 1767 by the establishment of what has since been called the famous Mason and Dixon line at 39 degrees, 43 minutes and 26.3 seconds as the northern boundary of Maryland.[32] Thus Maryland lost only 17 minutes of a degree of latitude of its original territory.

[29] On the map Bohemia Manor is shown on the North Side of the Bohemia River in "Caecil C" (Cecil County). On the southern bank of the island formed by the Bohemia River and the Sassafracx River is shown Hackston, an estate acquired by the Hacks in 1662.

[30] Maryland Archives, Proc. of Council, Vol. V. pp. 376-78.

[31] Maryland Archives, Proc. of Council, Vol. 17. p. 472.

[32] Ency. Britannica, "Mason Dixon Line". 11th ed.

Chapter VI

THE LORD OF BOHEMIA MANOR

When Augustine Herrman came to Maryland in the autumn of 1659 to treat with Lord Baltimore and Colonel Utie, he chanced to travel through the extreme northeastern part of the colony, then quite sparsely settled by white inhabitants. Through the pleasant rolling land flowed a wide river, gradually forming an estuary connecting with Chesapeake Bay. The Indians called this river the Oppoquimimi,[1] which Herrman renamed the Bohemia after his native land. Traveling southward to St. Mary's he became more and more impressed with the English province. As a Dutch diplomat he was successful in his mission; yet his attachment to New Amsterdam was diminishing and his interest in things Dutch, with the incessant arguments and bickerings, were becoming wearisome. He could not forget the rich fields along the River Oppoquimimi. By the beginning he had made up his mind to become a subject of the British Crown and had taken the initial steps toward that direction. The denization of Herrman, January 14, 1660,

[1] Compare this name with "Appoquiminick", the name of a stream which flows easterly into the Delaware Bay, a little below St. Augustine on the Delaware. The word "Appoquiminick" means in the Indian tongue "wounded duck" and was given by reason of the tortuous windings of the stream. Inasmuch as the characteristics of the Delaware stream and the Bohemia River are radically different it seems strange, perhaps, that the name of the one should be so similar to that of the other. It is possible, however, that though the names sound so much alike they may be derived from different roots. It would seem that the Indians who occupied the land surrounding both streams belonged to the same tribe. Johnston's map in his History of Cecil County, Maryland calls the Bohemia River the "Oppoquermine".

is an important document and we herewith quote it in its entirety: [2]

"Caecilius absolute Lord and Proprietary of the Province of Maryland and Avalon Lord Baron of Baltimore etc. To all Persons to whom these presents may come greeting in our Lord God Everlasting. Whereas Augustine Herman late of Manhatans Marchant haveing of long tyme used the trade of this our Province hath besought us to grant unto him leave to transporte himself and family into this our Province here to inhabit. And for our satisfaction and benefit of trade hath drawne a Mapp of all the Rivers creeks and Harbours thereunto belonging know yee that wee willing to give due encouragement to men of his profession and to reward all such as have well deserved from us Doe hereby Declare him the said Augustine Herman to be a free denizen of this our Province of Maryland. And Doe further for us our heirs and Successors straightly enjoyne constitute ordaine and command that the said Augustine Herman be in all things held traeted reputed and esteemed as one of the faithful People of us our heirs and Successors borne within this our Province of Maryland And likewise any lands Tenements Revenues Services and other Hereditments whatsoever within our said Province of Maryland may inheritt or otherwise purchase receive take have hould buy and possess and them may occupy and enjoy give sell alien and bequeath as likewise all Liberties ffranchises and Priviledges of this our Province of Maryland freely quietly and peacefully have and possess occupy and enjoy as our faithfull People borne and to be borne within our said Province of Maryland without the lest molestation vexation trouble or Grieuvance of us our heires and Successors and custome to the Contrary hereof in any wise notwith-

[2] In many accounts Herrman is referred to as the first "Naturalized American". As a matter of fact, however, his brother-in-law George Hack and his wife Anna with a few others were naturalized in Virginia in 1658 (Journal of House of Burgesses, 1619-59, p. 131). In this record George Hack is referred to as having a brother who was naturalized at the same time. This record undoubtedly refers to Sepharin Hack, later killed by the Indians, rather than to Herrman, as we can find no reference that Herrman was a citizen of Virginia.

standing Given at Saint Marys under the greate seale of our said Province of Maryland the ffourteenth day of January in the nyne and twentieth yeare of our Dominion over the said Province of Mary-land Annoque Domini One thousand Six Hundred and Sixty. Witnes our Deare brother Philip Calvert Esqr our Lieutenant of our said Province of Maryland.

(Signed) PHILIP CALVERT[3]
1660"

In a memorandum or "Journall" of the development of Bohemia Manor composed in 1681, Herrman speaks of writing to Lord Baltimore as early as the summer of 1659, proposing to make a map of Maryland and on September 18th of that year he says that Baltimore accepted and recommended the granting of five thousand acres of land.[4] Inasmuch as this date is before he left New Amsterdam and a month prior to his letter to Peter Stuyvesant recommending a map of the territory, it seems highly probable that Herrman may have confused the date and had reference to 1660 instead of 1659. On the other hand his coming to Maryland as an envoy of Stuyvesant in Oct. 1659 may have been a clever way of sidetracking the Dutch governor; a view that is not at all improbable in the light of the Rhode Island Affair. Herrman seems to have been of a too passionate nature to have overlooked the incident so passively. If indeed Herrman did take advantage of this trip to Maryland to retaliate against Peter Stuyvesant, it can certainly be said that he was successful. Yet if he was determined to go into the service of Lord Baltimore prior to his journey to Maryland, as his Memorandum would seem to imply, why did he uphold the cause of the Dutch so eloquently? On the other

[3] Maryland Archives, Proc. of Council, Vol. III. p. 398.

[4] Wilson, J. G. A Maryland Manor. Md. Hist. Doc. Fund. Pub. 30. ii, p. 29 (Appendix).

hand, inasmuch as Herrman had prepared a rough draft of a map of Maryland as early as January 14, 1660, it might be argued that he was holding out for the best terms from Stuyvesant or Baltimore. Then, too, is the question as to why Herrman should have applied to the Dutch governor for leave to make a map of an English province.[5]

After having made up his mind to locate in Maryland it was Herrman's deepest desire to establish a landed aristocracy like that in England and other continental countries. With this wish and purpose in mind he won the respect and sincere friendship of Lord Baltimore, who had worked with more or less success in establishing a system of landed properties. On more than one occasion Baltimore had observed with concern that his subjects did not appear to look upon with any great favor his scheme of establishing a baronial caste type of society. It was, therefore, refreshing for Baltimore to meet a man like Herrman who seemed eager to establish an aristocratic house. In conformity with a plan of the second Lord Baltimore, a resolution was adopted in 1636 which provided that everyone who was granted one thousand acres or more of land was to become automatically a court baron with privileges to hold court baron and court leet. The name of the manor was left to the discretion of the lord.[6] Although there were in actual existence a number of such court barons in Maryland created by Baltimore, few if any ever quite attained the prestige and distinction held by Herrman. Baltimore, apparently desirous of placing Herrman in a class worthy of his ambition, conferred on him the special title "lord", and so far as known is the only instance where a special title of nobility

[5] This journal has a number of apparent errors. For instance Herrman speaks of the name New York as of 1661.

[6] Maryland Archives, Proc. of Council, Vol. III. p. 48.

was conferred upon an American citizen, though of course then a British subject.[7] To give extra weight to the title Herrman was awarded a special seal, which appears to have been authorized for use in certain official transactions. For instance, in protecting owners from runaway slaves and servants, Herrman's seal was as authoritative as that of Lord Baltimore.[8] Herrman was authorized to charge one shilling in each instance of offering such protection.

Baltimore's patents to Herrman were particularly liberal. In addition to Bohemia Manor, "Little Bohemia Manor" was granted in 1671[9] intended primarily for Herrman's second son, Casperus. Soon afterwards St. Augustine Manor was added, to which, however, the family did not long hold title because of certain legal technicalities. For his daughters he was granted in 1682 "The Three Bohemia Sisters".[10] Altogether Herrman in the height of his prosperity must have been in possession of between twenty and twenty-five thousand acres of the most fertile land on the Atlantic coast, and was undoubtedly among the largest private landowners of America of the seventeenth century. As early as 1661 it was his intention to establish a system of land tenure whereby each tenant farmer should cultivate a small piece of land, each employing a few negroes. In a letter to Beeckman dated that year he tells of his troubles and difficulties in getting people to settle and that "the Indians are becoming a nuisance".[11]

During the first two or three years of his residence at Bohemia Manor, Herrman appears to have continued to engage in business activities, no doubt doing a certain amount of ship-

[7] Wilson, J. G. A Maryland Manor, p. 14. Md. Arch. Vol. XVII. p. 485.
[8] Md. Arch. Proc. Gen. Assembly, Vol. II. p. 193.
[9] Recorded August 14, 1682.
[10] Wilson, J. G. A Maryland Manor, p. 14.
[11] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. of N. Y., Vol. XII. p. 337.

ping from New Amsterdam.[12] But in 1662 he discontinued his career as a merchant and trader and began in earnest to live the life of a country gentleman on something of an exalted scale. In November of that year, among other guests at Bohemia Manor, we find Philip Calvert, brother of the proprietor of Maryland.[13] In 1663 he petitioned the General Assembly for naturalization, and the same year the legislative body of Maryland ordered that an "Acte of Naturalization be prepared for Augustine Herrman and his children[14] and his brother-in-law, George Hack, and his wife and children."[15] This act was confirmed in 1666 and again in 1669.[16]

But Herrman was not long content with the easy and regular and no doubt to one of his active and energetic nature a monotonous life of a country gentleman. From an early age he had been accustomed to take part in the important affairs of the world and in organizing and directing some new enterprise molding the destinies of men and nations. In 1665 he was made a commissioner for Upper Baltimore County.[17] As a special deputy of Lord Baltimore he was authorized to issue warrants for arrests. On May 8, 1669 the General Assembly authorized that a log prison be built on Herrman's manor for the purpose of detaining runaway servants and criminals convicted of the more serious crimes.[18] When he was successful in bringing

[12] Md. Arch. Proc. of Council, Vol. III. pp. 401-402. Proc. of Prov. Court, Vol. XLI. p. 344.

[13] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. of N. Y., Vol. XII. p. 416.

[14] Mrs. Herrman joined her husband in Maryland in 1661 but by the phrasing of the above entry it would appear that she died prior to 1663. Herrman remarried in 1666.

[15] Md. Arch. Proc. and Acts of Gen. Assembly, Vol. I. p. 462.

[16] George Hack died late in 1665 or early in 1666, before he became a naturalized citizen of Maryland. His wife and children became citizens of that colony, however. Herrman was naturalized in 1669.

[17] Md. Arch. Proc. Acts of Gen. Assembly, Vol. III. p. 22.

[18] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 224.

back fugitive slaves and servants he had the right to detain them until their masters paid him a fee of four hundred pounds of tobacco.[19] Notwithstanding this somewhat generous emolument, it appears that Herrman's task in tracking down vagrants and fugitives gave him more trouble and expense than that amount of tobacco was worth; for in 1671 we find him complaining to the General Assembly for not receiving ample fees for his official duties. However, the Maryland General Assembly did not see fit to increase the amount of the fee and Herrman refused to act longer in that capacity.[20]

Cecil County was set apart as a separate county from Baltimore prior to the publication of Herrman's map, as it is so named thereon. As one of the leading citizens of that county he was a justice of the peace and when Cecil County came into being he assumed the same office.[21] In 1674 he was one of the gentlemen Justices and later Gentleman of the Quorum.[22] From 1678 to 1680 he was commissioner for the Peace in Cecil County.[23]

As late as 1678 the Indians were quite numerous in Cecil County. Herrman, as one of the leading men, was looked upon by the people as their natural protector from the onslaughts of the savages. In that year he was empowered by the Provincial Council to treat with the Indians by whatever means he saw fit.[24] What means he did use to keep them quiet and peaceful we do not know, but no further trouble arose from that source until 1683 when Herrman, growing too old, could no longer use his influence to keep them pacified. In the above year he

[19] Ibid. p. 225.
[20] Md. Arch. Proc. and Acts of Gen. Assem., Vol. II. p. 225.
[21] Maryland Hist. Mag., Vol. I (1906). p. 45.
[22] Md. Arch. Proc. of Council, Vol. XV. pp. 38-41.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Md. Arch. Proc. Council, Vol. XV. p. 175.

wrote to the Council, complaining that the Indians were stealing horses and cows from the farmers and asked that vigorous measures be taken to put a stop to the menace.[25]

Bohemia Manor included the land between the headwaters of Chesapeake Bay and between the Elk and Bohemia rivers eastward to about the present Delaware State line. The acreage has been estimated at from ten thousand to twenty-three thousand. About 1662 or 1663 Herrman began work on the great manor house which was completed in 1664. It stood about one hundred fifty feet west of the present home of Senator Thomas F. Bayard. Unfortunately no contemporary account of the first manor house exists, but from indirect references we would infer that it was rather magnificently planned and if it could have been preserved it would no doubt be regarded as among the finest of seventeenth century American mansions. It was built of brick, a few of which are preserved and these, together with the cellar are all that is left to indicate the site.[26] The second manor house was built about a half mile to the south, close to the shore and the foundations are still extant. It appears to have been built of wood as there are no brick found in the vicinity of the ruins. It was destroyed by fire in 1816.

With the destruction of the second manor house there perished a priceless collection of paintings, many of which Herrman himself had collected. Among them were a full length portrait in oil of the first Lady Herrman and a likeness of Herrman himself with his famous and half legendary white horse, about which we shall have more to say later.[27] Herrman appears to have had an eye for beauty as well as for utility. Around the manor house were planted formal gardens and

[25] Ibid. Vol. XVII. p. 137.

[26] Mallery, C. P. Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor, p. 14.

[27] Copies of these portraits are preserved in the Maryland Hist. Soc., Baltimore.

toward the south can still be seen the remnants of an extensive deer park which he had built at the suggestion of one of the Baltimores. All around the manor house lay small farms with their tenants and servants. But farther back the land was left uncultivated with its native virgin timber. In 1681 Herrman wrote to Lord Baltimore complaining that one George Browning and George Holland had privately surveyed fourteen hundred acres of his "Middle Neck" land. The noble Bohemian did not hesitate to describe them in good plebeian terms as "a couple of damned rascals". There was in fact much of the virgin forest left when Herrman took up his residence in Cecil County and he took much pride in his stately avenues of primeval trees.[28]

As early as 1660 Herrman appreciated the advisability of connecting Chesapeake Bay with Delaware Bay by a canal and it is believed that the site of Bohemia Manor appealed to him because of the ease by which tobacco might be shipped from Maryland to New Amsterdam. Although it is most likely that Herrman was primarily interested in trade and commerce in 1660, his interest in this direction began to wane, and he never carried his scheme of a canal to perfection, a task left for a later generation. He did, however, construct a good wagon road from the Bohemia River to the Appoquinimunk Creek in New Castle County (Delaware), a thoroughfare that indeed served its purpose in connecting the headwaters of the two bays.[29] From the Ordinance of the Government of Delaware promulgated by the Governor and Council at New York, June 14, 1761 we find, "About clearing the way between New Castle and Mr. Augustine Herman's plantation, if those of Maryland are willing to do their part, the officers at New

[28] Wilson, J. G. A Maryland Manor. p. 17.
[29] Vincent, Francis. Hist. of Delaware, p. 373.

Castle are hereby empowered to enjoin the inhabitants at Delaware likewise to clear their proportion."[30] The thoroughfare was called "The Old Man's Road."

[30] Yorke's Book of Laws, pub. by Secretary of Council of Pa. Harrisburg, 1879, p. 449. See also following advertisement in

PHILADELPHIA GAZETTE & UNIVERSAL DAILY ADVERTISER,
Tuesday, 29th, April, 1794.
Philadelphia & Baltimore Land & Water New Line

PACKETS.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

For transportation of GOODS, & etc.

The subscribers have established good and stout vessels to pass from Philadelphia to Appoquinimink Landing, and from the tide water of Bohemia, to Baltimore, twice a week.

The object of this Line being the transportation of heavy articles of Merchandize and produce, the proprietors have made choice the shortest portage and best roads between the two bays. Delay arising from the want of teams, & etc. so frequently attendant on more lengthy portages, are here obviated, both by the shortness of distance (which does not exceed seven miles) and situation of the country.

The contiguous situation of the Landings, the safety of Navigation, the goodness of roads, render this conveyance safe and expeditious, and give the proprietors flattering hopes of becoming useful to Merchants and others in facilitating the communication between Philadelphia and Baltimore. Should the proprietors meet encouragement and support, they have in contemplation to obtain further improvements on the road, which will tend to lessen the price of carriage.

The packets will start from Morris' Wharf 2d above the drawbridge in Philadelphia, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and arrive in Baltimore at the county-wharf, on Tuesdays and Fridays, and from thence they will start for Philadelphia, on Thursdays and Sundays.

Goods to be transported by this Line will be received in Philadelphia, at the stores of Messrs. MADDOCK, JACKSON & CO., on Morris' Wharf, and by Mr. James Piper, on the County-wharf, Baltimore.

PRICES.

For heavy articles, from wharf to wharf, at the rate of 30s per ton,
pipes & butts.....22s 6. each
Hogsheads 3s
And for others in the same proportion.

JAMES MOORE,
FRISBY LLOYD,
WILLIAM BRADY,

April 12,
tu&F tf.

It is to be regretted that the contemporary data regarding the social life of Bohemia Manor during the seventeenth century is so scant; but we can assume with greater or less degree of certainty that the old manor house during its most brilliant career was among the most notable country places in the English colonies. It most certainly was the center of the social life of Cecil County and on many occasions did the presence of the lords of Baltimore grace its assemblies. Yet no doubt there was likely never a guest who could quite match the dominant personality of the distinguished though somewhat bizarre host.

Chapter VII

AUGUSTINE HERRMAN AND THE LABADISTS

A life of Augustine Herrman, no matter how brief, would be incomplete without an account of the extraordinary religious sect called the Labadists and the sequence of events that caused them to settle at Bohemia Manor.

The story of the Labadists is not unlike that of many other Protestant sects that grew out of the Reformation in Holland and elsewhere as a result of differences as to government, doctrines and social and religious discipline. In all its essentials Labadism did not differ much from all those other religious sects produced about the same time. Its tenets consisted of many good points, with many shortcomings that the processes of time and condition exposed. Jean de Labadie was the main guiding force of the order and after his death it disintegrated as rapidly as it arose. He was born at Bordeaux, France in 1610 and was educated at a Jesuit college. He was still young when he declared that he had visions and received messages direct from God, Who revealed to him that he was to establish a new and "only real church". He began to lead a life of asceticism, fasting for long intervals and eating only herbs. As a result of these privations his health became impaired and his mind suffered as a consequence. He made himself so objectionable to the orthodox priests that in order to get rid of him they gave him an honorable dismissal from the Jesuit order.[1]

[1] The Labadists of Bohemia Manor, Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. I (1906). p. 338.

Henceforth Labadie became a secular priest, first in France where he met with unusual success and later in Holland where he was received with still greater honor. From Holland he went to Geneva, where he gained his most influential convert, Pierre Yvon who, after the death of Labadie, became his successor as head of the sect. At Geneva he also made converts of John Schurman and his talented and accomplished sister, Anna Maria who, it is said, read prose and verse in Arabic, Hebrew, Greek and Latin and a half dozen of the modern European languages. It was Anna Maria Schurman who wrote the principle book on Labadism, "Eucleria".[2] In Amsterdam, though Labadie met with unusual success in gaining new converts, he was cautioned by the magistrates to confine his ministry to his own followers. Not satisfied with such a limited following and ever eager to spread and propagate what he believed to be the true doctrines, he emigrated to Wiewerd in Friesland where the daughters of Cornelis van Arsen presented him with Malta House, an old castle. Henceforth Wiewerd became the capital of the Labadist domains and so remained as long as the sect was extant.

It appears that there was some similarity between the tenets of Labadism and Quakerism. William Penn is said to have visited Wiewerd and was impressed at the similarity of the religious and social ceremonies promulgated by Labadie to his own. Later Robert Barclay and George Keith visited Labadie and invited him and his followers to join the Quakers. The request was refused.[3] In their social organization they were communal, owning no private property or article which they would not surrender to the organization as a whole. At first, it

[2] Jones, B. B. The Labadist colony in Maryland, p. 13, noté 2.
[3] Maryland Hist. Mag., Vol. I. p. 339.

appears that private marriage was permitted; but as the sect developed and increased in power and influence, single and private marriage was relegated to the past and regarded as a characteristic of the old popish superstition. In Maryland the Labadists were especially hostile to private marriages, declaring that "hell was full of ordinary marriages".[4] They dispensed with bright-colored and showy garments and wore no ornaments. No class distinctions whatever were admitted, although the leader at all times was to be obeyed.[5] They ate only common and coarse food and were essentially ascetic.

The communal beliefs and practices of the Labadists did not gain an active sympathy even in a city so favorable to them as Wiewerd; and before long they turned their eyes toward the New World as the only logical seat of their supposed Utopian order. By 1667 Surinam was the only colonial possession left Holland in the western continent which the Labadists thought suitable for a future residence. To this colony they determined to emigrate, preferring to remain, if possible, under the Dutch flag. The commission that was sent to the Guianas to seek a spot for settlement returned with such disparaging reports to the effect that the Dutch colony was filled with all kinds of crawling and biting insects; that their lives would be constantly endangered by wild animals; that the air was tainted with sickly odors; and that "snakes ran through the houses like mice in Holland."[6] Although one of the principal tenets of the Labadist faith held that mankind should return to a primitive mode of civilization, there were few of the sect who were

[4] Memoirs of Long Island Hist. Soc., Vol. I (1867). p. xxxvi.

[5] Compare communal customs of the Labadists with those of the Separatist Society of Zoar, Tuscawaras County, Ohio, 19th century.

[6] Maryland Hist. Mag., Vol. I. p. 340.

willing to brave the extremities of Nature as had been described by the messengers from Dutch Guiana.

They next turned their attention to New York, until lately the capital of the Dutch domains of North America and a town still essentially Dutch. Many of the Labadists assumed, probably not without good cause, that the English conquerors of New York would not look with favor upon their arrival nor countenance their communal way of living. Others contended that New York was unsuited because tobacco was raised on Manhattan Island and their tenets forbade the use of that commodity. Yet there seemed to be no other Dutch community in the New World to which they might emigrate. The head of the sect at Wiewerd deemed it advisable to send two of their members to New York to investigate conditions and if they found them suitable for a permanent residence to barter for land for the Labadist colony.

Peter Sluyter and Jasper Dankaerts were selected for the mission. From the day of their sailing from Amsterdam, June 8, 1679 to the day of their arrival back in Wiewerd, October 12, 1680, they kept a detailed journal of their trip.[7] Although this journal was written by men who saw the country through half-fanatical eyes, it has many merits and is a most valuable document in giving us a glimpse, distorted as it is, of early colonial life and customs of America. In places, on the other hand, it seems certain that the real facts were so twisted and distorted so as to meet the approval of semi-neurotic minds, as to render such sections of the journal worse than useless.

In the entry for Wednesday, October 18, 1679 this interesting note appears, the diarist little suspecting at the time that

[7] Translated by Henry C. Murphy and published in Vol. I, Memoirs of Long Island Hist. Soc.

upon the incident narrated was to depend the future of the Labadist movement in America:

"From this time until the 22nd. of October nothing special took place, except that we spoke to one Ephraim, a young trader who was just married here, and who intends to go with his wife to the South river, where he usually dwelt, for which purpose he was only waiting for horses and men from there. He tended us his services and his horses, if we would accompany him, and offered to carry us in his own boat everywhere on that river, from the falls (of the Delaware) to which we would have to travel by land, and where the boat would be waiting for him to take him down the river; since he himself would have to touch at many places on the river, in going down. As Bowman, who was going there with horses, did not make his appearance, we accepted the offer with thankfullness, waiting only for the time."[8]

This "one Ephraim" was no other than Ephraim Herrman, the eldest son of Augustine Herrman, heir to Bohemia Manor, who we suppose was to return to his home by way of the Delaware River and the road mentioned in the previous chapter. According to further annotations in the diary, Ephraim Herrman took much interest in the two Labadists as they journeyed down to Maryland, and subsequently proposed that the sect settle on or near Bohemia Manor.

They arrived in New Castle by December 1st and the next day they visited the village of St. Augustine. "We find", they wrote in their journal, "it well situated and would not badly suit us. There are large and good meadows, and marshes near it and the soil is quite good."[9] With a letter of introduction to Augustine Herrman from his son, Sluyter and Dankaerts left New Castle by way of the newly constructed road between

[8] Ibid. p. 153.
[9] Ibid. p. 193.

that settlement and Bohemia Manor. On the way to Herrman's house they met Casperus, his second son, who fell into conversation with the religionists and who appears to have been charmed with their peculiar ideas of society. He promised Sluyter and Dankaerts that he would arrange an interview for them with his father. In the middle of the afternoon of December 3 they arrived at the manor house where they delivered Ephraim's letter to the old lord.

"Becoming thus acquainted", they wrote, "he showed us every kindness he could in his condition, as he was very miserable both in soul and body.[10] His plantation was going much into decay, as well as his body for want of attention. There was not a Christian man, as they term it, to serve him; nobody but negroes. All this was increased by a miserable, doubly miserable wife; but so miserable that I will not relate it here.[11] All his children have been compelled on her account to leave their father's house. He spoke to us of his land, and said he would never sell it or hire it to Englishmen,[12] but would sell it cheap, if we were inclined to buy. But we satisfied ourselves and him by looking at it then, hoping that we might see each other on our return. We were directed to a place to sleep, but the screeching of the wild geese and other wild fowl in the creek before the door prevented us from having a good sleep, though it answered."

Herrman gave the two Labadists passports that authorized them to travel anywhere in Maryland. The following entry in

[10] Beyond a doubt highly exaggerated. It appears that the Labadist representatives were inclined to regard all but their own order, "miserable in soul and body".

[11] Herrman's second wife, Catherine Ward. Highly exaggerated.

[12] Inasmuch as Herrman's whole career was essentially pro-English this statement is probably a misrepresentation of fact.

the diary perhaps as well as any shows the extreme neuroticism sometimes attained by these Labadist representatives:

"The lives of the planters of Maryland and Virginia are very godless and profane. They listen neither to God nor his commandments and have neither church nor cloister. Sometimes there is someone who is called a minister who does not, as elsewhere, serve in one place, for in all Virginia and Maryland there is no city or a village, but travels for profit and for that purpose visits the plantations through the country and there addresses the people . . . you hear often that these ministers are worse than anybody else, yea, and are an abomination."[13]

Sluyter and Dankaerts remained in Maryland a few months longer, making Bohemia Manor their headquarters, where they were received with courtesy and respect. As time passed, however, the ardor with which Herrman received his guests began to wane. Their bombastic and oftentimes entirely false statements about his friends and neighbors did not tend to improve their relations. Nor really did their peculiar social and religious views have much in common with an aristocrat of Herrman's temper. Little by little, too, did he put off the actual sale of the property he had promised them.[14] When the Labadists insisted upon the conveyance, Herrman flatly refused. They left Maryland in 1680 and Herrman thought that he was rid of them for good. But three years later they returned, bringing with them one hundred of their order. In 1684 they instituted a suit against Herrman for the land he had heretofore promised them and were successful.[15]

Ephraim Herrman, as the eldest son, was according to Herr-

[13] Long Island Hist. Soc., Vol. I. p. 218. This and the foregoing invectives sound much like those written by Anne Royall a century later.

[14] Maryland Hist. Mag., Vol. I. p. 341.

[15] Ibid.

man's will heir to Bohemia Manor with the title of "lord". When, however, Ephraim joined the Labadists, forsaking his young wife, his father made a codicil to the will, condemning the sect in the strongest language, named three trustees and directed that after his death they guard the property lest Ephraim give it all away to the Labadists.[16] It is said that when Ephraim Herrman fully determined to join the Labadists and live as one of them, his father pronounced a curse upon him, declaring that he would not live two years longer. Tradition has it that Ephraim repented of his action and returned to his wife. But he lived until 1689, three years after his father's death; and it was believed by some that his mind was partially deranged.[17]

The tract of land which the Labadists bought consisted of some thirty-seven hundred acres, comprising land east of Bohemia Manor proper, of the highest fertility.[18] Here the hundred-odd Labadist emigrants from Holland settled, raising grain and tobacco, which plant they no longer detested since it was bringing in a fat income. The future of the Labadist movement in America was closely connected with the fortunes of the House of Herrman. Sluyter was installed as head of the sect and his wife became a kind of mother superior. In 1722 Sluyter died with no one caring to take his place and five years later there were none who professed to the faith. Samuel Bayard bought some of the land, in which family it has remained to the present time.

Nor did the fortunes of the mother church in Holland prosper more than the New World colony. Three sisters of Lord Semmelsdyk remained true to the faith, but upon the

[16] These trustees were three of Herrman's neighbors.
[17] Maryland Hist. Mag., p. 342.
[18] Johnston, George, History Cecil County, Md. (1881). p. 93.

death of the last of them in 1725, the church of the Labadists became extinct; and it is interesting to note that the two branches of the sect went out of existence within three years of one another. Since that time many similar religious sects have been born, blossomed and faded away and passed into oblivion. But the Labadists with their peculiar religious and social beliefs and sharp tongues will always be remembered in America because many of the most prominent families of northeast Maryland and Delaware trace their ancestry back to the original settlers of the colony at Bohemia Manor.

Chapter VIII

THE PERSONAL LIFE OF AUGUSTINE HERRMAN

Before the publication of the early colonial records of the American Atlantic states, the seventeenth century was the dark age of American history. It was an age of half-legendary heroes about whom tradition and family hearsay wove many a fanciful and highly colored tale. And there were few men living in those times about whom legend has woven more fancy than Augustine Herrman; reconstructing him in keeping with his romantic birthplace, Prague, in his still more romantic country, Bohemia. Tradition has speculated for more than two hundred years about his historic quarrel with Peter Stuyvesant. Some believe that it arose because the two were in love with a certain Jannetje or Jane Verlett, the fair daughter of Casper and Judith Verlett, first of the Dutch colony of Good Hope, near Hartford, Connecticut and later of New Amsterdam. Whether she spurned the tempestuous old Dutch governor we do not know, but it is a matter of record that she married Augustine Herrman, December 10, 1651 at New Amsterdam.[1] Others in a less romantic mood believe that Stuyvesant and Herrman quarreled over the map which Herrman made for Lord Baltimore, but obviously this assumption is untrue because the map was not even begun until at least eight years after the quarrel. We have in a former chapter gone into

[1] Valentine's Manual (1861), p. 644. The marriage record gives the name Janneken. In his will Herrman refers to his first wife as Joanna. Their marriage registry is in Collegiate Church, New York City.

this question to some length and have offered a number of reasons to account for the breach between Herrman and his chief; here in a less serious chapter, but probably a more interesting one, we need only say that the reason why Stuyvesant quarrelled with Herrman was for the same reason that he quarrelled with Adriaen Van der Donck and Govert Loockermans or any other man of enterprise, ability and energy. The simple fact seems to be that Stuyvesant could not get along with anyone who had a mind of his own.

The most famous and fanciful legend woven around Herrman's name is that of the famous white horse, which story alone is ample to make him forever immortal in the traditions of American annals; and it is fortunate that the subject has been woven into art in the form of a painting depicting Herrman and his steed. According to the story, sometime between 1663 and 1673 (the precise year is of no particular consequence), Herrman rode up from Bohemia Manor to look after some property interest he still held in New Amsterdam. Those who choose the earlier date insist that Peter Stuyvesant had him arrested for deserting him for Lord Baltimore; while those who persist in the later date say that the Dutch, who for a short time regained possession of New York, arrested him as a traitor for secretly turning over New Amsterdam to the English in 1664.[2] But regardless of the precise year and the reason whereof, he was arrested. Whereupon Herrman suddenly feigned madness and refused to mount his white charger which he had ridden from Maryland. Accordingly Herrman and the horse were led to the second story of a stone warehouse, where he was securely locked in. The Dutchmen, be-

[2] For an interesting and well written popular account of Herrman's life see E. N. Vallandingham's article in the New York Sun for Oct. 23, 1892 reprinted in Phillip's Rare Map of Va. and Md., pp. 18-23.

lieving that their prisoner was safely confined for the night, departed to their homes; and as was their wont, went to bed early. Toward the dead hours of night, one who chanced to burn a midnight candle was startled to hear a tremendous crash in the direction of the warehouse, and rushing to his door he was just in time to see, by the light of a full moon, two weird figures leap from the building, a flash of ghostly white across the Bowling Green and the terrific speed of a white horse toward the North River, bearing aloft the haughty figure of the lord of Bohemia Manor. Straight across the deep, wide river did the faithful beast convey his master to the Jersey shore, thence across the wild country of New Jersey, over the Delaware River, back home to Cecil County, Maryland. Some of the more imaginative believe, perhaps, that the noble animal, like Dick Turpin's horse which fell dead beneath the mighty tower of York Minster after conveying the highwayman hither from London in an overnight trip, perished when he brought his master to the very door of the Manor house; whilst others of a more humanitarian turn of mind assert that he lived many years thereafter, roaming, by special license, all the green meadows of Bohemia Manor,

> "Where he and his master would frolic for hours,
> Amidst the green grass and the tiny blue flowers."

At any rate, it seems that Herrman buried the faithful horse in grand state and had a monument erected over his grave. Later a painting was made of Herrman and his horse, and this portrait with the engraving on the map are the only two likenesses we have of Augustine Herrman.[3]

[3] Various versions of the Story of Herrman and his horse exist among family traditions. One has it that under the pretense of exercising his horse in the confines of Fort Amsterdam, permission for which was permitted him, he caused the horse to leap through the embrasure from which one of the

First of all, Herrman was an adventurer, as that term was applied to men of rank during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who undertook to form new colonies in the New World. In the eighteenth century the term "cavalier" was used and during the nineteenth century the word "pioneer" denoted much of what the adventurer was like two or three hundred years earlier. To Herrman, life was one long series of adventures, noble and honorable. By birth and education Herrman was an aristocrat in the best meaning of the word and ever remained one both as a merchant and trader of New Amsterdam and later as lord of Bohemia Manor. He seemed to be above the small and petty things of life, and one can think of no incident that better illustrates his nature than his willingness to overlook the triviality of Peter Stuyvesant in the matter of the absurd letter given him on his mission to Governor Coddington of Rhode Island. There appears never to have been an active resentment or even an attempt of retaliation against Stuyvesant on Herrman's part. This was not because Herrman was without temper and passion. Far from it; for on occasions he could become quite angry, but he punished his enemies openly and fairly. Herrman, if we are to judge by his many

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cannons had been withdrawn. Swimming the North River the horse carried Herrman as far as New Castle where it died. There is an interesting metrical version of the story in George Alfred Townsend's "Tales from the Chesepeake". One-half of a horse bit was recovered from the ruins of the first manor house of exactly the same pattern as the bit in the portrait of Herrman and his horse. The original portrait is said to be lost. A reproduction appears in Elroy McKendree Avery's History of the United States (1910), Vol. III. p. 51. A copy is also in the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. March 20, 1941, the Maryland State Legislature appropriated the sum of $200.00 for a portrait of Herrman to be hung in the Capitol at Annapolis. Former U. S. Senator Thomas F. Bayard of Wilmington, Del., has a copy of a painting of Herrman and his horse, that is more pleasing than the one owned by the Md. Hist. Soc. The original copy is in the possession of Senator Bayard's cousin, Mrs. Melville.

lawsuits, both in New Amsterdam and Maryland, was as quarrelsome and sometimes unreasonable as any of his high-spirited contemporaries; but he did manage to keep his temper under control for the most part. A good cultural education in his youth had taught him the advisability of moderation.

There is very little contemporary information by which we might judge Herrman's family life. That his home life with his first wife was happy and satisfactory seems conclusive, for she seems to have been a lady of no little culture and refinement as judged by the standards of early seventeenth century America. Unfortunately she did not live long to enjoy her title as wife of the first lord of Bohemia Manor; but Herrman and his first wife were highly regarded by the third Lord Baltimore for their grace and hospitality. Jannetje Herrman died about the year 1664, having born to her husband two sons and three daughters.[4]

In 1666 Herrman married Catherine Ward of Upper Baltimore County. She was probably the daughter of his neighbor, Henry Ward.[5] Very little is known of the second Lady Herrman beyond the description given by the Labadist diarists. Yet she could not have been the most amiable and affable of women to be described even by a bigoted fanatic as "miserable, doubly miserable and too miserable to describe." There most certainly was something about Catherine Ward Herrman that was not altogether to her credit, even though she may have merited only a one-hundredth part of the severe criticism of Sluyter and Dankaerts. She most likely was not the type of woman of Jannetje in point of amiability, grace and charm; and for this reason the Manor House was not the center of social life as

[4] The Maryland Historical Society possesses a painting of Jannetje Verlett Herrman. She is represented as a refined and delicate type of woman.

[5] Matthews, E. B. Maryland Geological Survey, Vol. 2. p. 375.

formerly, a fact that Herrman himself no doubt much regretted. We would judge, too, from both the direct evidence of the Labadist diarists and from other indirect sources that Catherine Herrman made life uncomfortable for the children of her husband by his first wife.

Yet after the death of Jannetje there was another woman besides his daughters who was always a source of happiness to Herrman. This was Jannetje's sister, Anna Hack who, during the New Amsterdam period of Herrman's life had played such an important part. In 1665 (or early in 1666) her husband, Dr. George Hack had died, leaving her two sons, George Nicholas and Peter, and two daughters, Katherine and Ann. The Hacks, as we have before pointed out, were also large landowners in Cecil County, one of the largest of their estates, Hackston on the northern shore of the Sassafracx River, consisting of eight hundred acres. Another of the Hack estates was located on the southern shore of the Bohemia River nearly opposite the manor house and this site is still known as Hack's Point.[6] After the death of her husband, Anna Hack with her sons and daughters continued to reside in Maryland, though she still retained much land in Virginia. Peter Hack bought more land in Cecil County, but it seems that at about the time of Augustine Herrman's death he returned to Virginia, where he became active in the political life of that colony.

Among Herrman's long list of personal friends, the names of the third Lord Baltimore, Govert Loockermans and Adriaen Van der Donck figure most prominently. Lord Baltimore was lavish in his grants to Herrman, never tiring of the hospitality of Bohemia Manor and always ready to increase Herrman's influence and prestige. Loockermans and Van der Donck were

[6] Johnston, George, History of Cecil County, Md., 1881. p. 71.

his best friends during his merchant days. Van der Donck, New Amsterdam's first and only historian, describes Herrman as "a curious man and a lover of the country".[7] It is also in this connection that Van der Donck speaks of Herrman cultivating a superior variety of indigo on Manhattan Island.

No sooner did Herrman become an English subject and subsequently the lord of a manor than he adopted the habits and daily life of a British nobleman. He constructed a deer park south of the Manor House, about which we have already spoken. Always a skilled horseman, he took to foxhunting and eventually was convinced that a country gentleman should spend much of his time at this sport. Consequently he became as hard-riding a squire as one could find in the English domains of two continents. When Herrmann was asked one day why he was going to will the whole of Bohemia Manor to one son, he replied to the effect that by making a number of heirs he would also be making just as many foxhunters. Herrman was also very fond of shooting. Judging from the entry in the Labadist journal about being kept awake by the wild fowl, one would judge that duck hunting was excellent on the Bohemia River in those days. On one occasion it is related that his son Ephraim, upon bringing down only four wild fowl with one shot, complained about his bad luck and declared that a dozen was his usual number.

Judging from Herrman's financial difficulties from time to time, one would infer that he was not the most careful person about matters pertaining to money; not that he was by any means a spendthrift. He was a generous man and doubtless

[7] Beschryvinge van Nieuw-Nederlant, Amsterdam, 1656. (Description of New Netherland.) The full text of the translation is given in the New York Historical Collections, Vol. I, 2nd Series (1841). This is, of course, the earliest history of New York and the original edition is of the greatest importance to the student of seventeenth century America.

gave away much and at times when he could ill afford to do so. His kindness in receiving Sluyter and Dankaerts under his roof is proof of his generosity; particularly so when he was repaid by only slander of himself and family.

As to religion Herrman was likely much in advance of his day. So far as we know, he kept to the Protestant faith. His life was contemporary with an age that ushered in countless religious sects, each professing the true doctrine of salvation, condemning the rest as unchristian. It was an age of blind bigotry and an incapacity toward toleration and understanding. Men of education were wont to turn away from all religious discussion and build up their own theology upon that type of philosophy that appealed to them most. His liberal tendencies in religious matters Herrman no doubt received from his parents, whom we suppose to have been among the leading Protestants of Prague. While in New Amsterdam he and his family were members of the Dutch Reformed Church and here his children were christened. On his manor Herrman erected a small chapel where he and his family and servants worshipped and assembled for prayers. It was called St. Augustine's chapel. Dankaerts' statement that Herrman was a "very godless person" probably reflects less on Herrman than it does on the Labadist diarist.

Perhaps the outstanding attribute of Augustine Herrman's personality was his normal and rational attitude toward life in general. In an age torn on the one hand by religious persecution and fanaticism and on the other by material greed, he was among the few of the seventeenth century Americans who stand out and above the petty trivialities that troubled men's minds. Because it did so, it is instructive for us today to read of his life.

Chapter IX

HERRMAN'S HEIRS AND THE DESCENDANTS OF THE ORIGINAL FAMILIES OF BOHEMIA MANOR

The exact date of the death of Augustine Herrman is uncertain. But inasmuch as his will was proved November 11, 1686 he likely died in the summer or in the early autumn of that year.[1] This will in itself is very interesting as its provisions formed a subject of contention as late as 1700. Consisting of some fifteen hundred words, the will is written on a single piece of parchment and is preserved in the Pennsylvania Historical Society. It is dated September 27, 1684.

"In the Name and Good Will of God, the Holy Tri Unity, Amen", the document begins. It first provides that a monument stone on which is stated that he was the "first author of Bohemia Mannour" be erected over his grave, next naming the executors of the will, his son Ephraim, his second son Casperus and his son-in-law Jn. Thompson. It further provides:

"I doe hereby further give, bequeath & devise, unto my Sonn Ephraim, and to his Heires Male from his body lawfully begotten, durande vitae . . . my above said Bohemia Mannour . . . unto my aforenamed Sonn Casperus and to his lineall posterities . . . my Bohemia river Middleneck, called little Bohemia. . . . I do bequeath & Devise Unto my said three daughters, Anna Margarita, Judith and Francina, and to their legall heires & Posterities from their Bodies Lawfully begotten . . . Three Tracts of land . . . named three Bohemian Sisters formerly called Misfortun. . . . In case My

[1] See Johnston, G. Hist. of Cecil County, Md. p. 107.

posteriall lines in time to come, Shall Cease, and bee thaken Out of the world . . . I . . . Depose and Comitt the three distinct Esstates, into the Custody of Most Honourable Generall Assembly of this Province of Maryland; . . . for the Use & propagation & propriety of a ffree Donative Scoole & Colledge, with Divine protestant Ministery, hospitalls & reliefe of poore & distressed people & travellars, to be by the said Generall honourable Assembly, Erected and Established . . . by the perpetuall name of the Augustiny Bohemians."[2]

The will is signed by "Augustine Herrman, Bohimian, Aetatis 63."[3]

Thus it will be observed that Herrman was desirous of having his name and that of his native country perpetuated in this country, as well as establishing a family of landed property by willing Bohemia Manor to his eldest son and his heirs, each being required to add the name "Augustine" to his own. The will is recorded in Liber G. folio 228 in the Office of the Register of Wills of Anne Arundel County, Annapolis.[4]

Herrman provided bountifully for his five children. Yet there was a cause for litigation. For some unknown reason the section of the will providing for his daughter, Anna Margareta, was torn from the recorded copy in the Registry of Wills, Annapolis. At length Matthias Vanderhayden, her husband, obtained possession of the original document and produced two of the witnesses, Edward and Samuel Wheeler

[2] Čapek, p. 26.

[3] It is mainly upon this date that many believe Herrman was born in 1621. Yet, as before mentioned, we do know that Herrman was a witness to the Schuylkill River treaty in 1633. It is of course possible knowing the ambiguities and vagrancies of 17th century spelling and use of dates that 83 was meant instead of 63. This would have placed the year of his birth at 1601, four years before the Rattermann date. Moreover, a close examination of the will seems plainly to show that the word "Aetatis 63" is not in Herrman's handwriting.

[4] Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Vol. 15 (1891-92). p. 321.

who testified signing the will.[5] On June 9, 1692 Vanderhayden petitioned the General Assembly to reconsider the will.[6] Upon examining the recorded copy it was indeed discovered that a page had been torn out and to "be imbezzeled feloniously purloyned, taken, carried and conveyed away out of the said office so that no such record remained thereof."[7] On October 12, 1694 the original will was declared valid and this declaration was confirmed in 1699 and 1700 and presumably the Vanderhaydens came into their share of the property, as we see no more about it in the colonial records of Maryland.[8]

The year Herrman made his will Ephraim still adhered to the Labadist faith. Possibly as a consequence Herrman made a codicil to his will directing that three new executors be named, namely: Edmund Jones, William Dare and George Oldfield, "his loving friends and neighbors."[9] For their services Herrman allowed them the use of one hundred acres of land for twenty years for the sum of ten shillings per annum. The codicil was witnessed by John Cann, James Williams, John White, Samuel Land and William Hamilton, but it was never admitted to probate and for this reason Johnston believes it probable that the document was executed at New Castle, Delaware.[10]

Ephraim Herrman, born about 1654, married Elizabeth Van Rodenburg, said to have been the daughter of the governor of Curaçao, September 3, 1679, in New York. According to

[5] The lower left corner of original will where the witnesses signed is torn away.

[6] Md. Arch. Proc. of Council, p. 323; Vol. 13, Proc. of Gen. Assem., p. 418.

[7] Penna. Mag., Vol. 15. p. 321.

[8] Md. Arch., Vol. 19, p. 47; Vol. 22, p. 560; Vol. 24, p. 105. The reason for the destruction of the recorded will has never been satisfactorily determined.

[9] Johnston, Hist. Cecil Co. p. 107.

[10] Johnston, Hist. Cecil Co. p. 107.

Dankaerts' journal this match was consummated after a series of romantic adventures, but afterwards Ephraim mended his "wild life and reckless manner of living". Later, however, due to the very persuasion of the Labadists, he left his wife to join the bizarre order. In time he returned to his wife, doubtless before the death of Herrman, inasmuch as the codicil was never admitted to probate. According to the records in the Dutch church in New York, a son was born to them June 7, 1680; his name, Augustinus. A daughter, Augustina, was born June 1, 1684. Samuel was born April 20, 1687; Ephraim, October 7, 1688.[11] Ephraim Herrman the elder died in 1689 and inasmuch as the title to Bohemia Manor passed to his brother Casperus, we suppose that Ephraim's three sons died in childhood. Nothing further is known of the daughter Augustina.

Casperus Herrman was born in New Amsterdam prior to January 2, 1656.[12] He was a member of the Council of New York and moved from that city to Augustine on the Delaware, later known as Fort Penn.[13] He was a member of the General Assembly from New Castle and after becoming third lord of Bohemia Manor he represented Cecil County in the Maryland General Assembly.[14]

Casperus Herrman was three times married. His first wife was Susanna Huyberts, a Dutch lady of New York. On August 23, 1682 he married Anna Reyniers; and on August 31, 1696 to Katherine Williams. Although a capable man and certainly more steady than his elder brother Ephraim, Casperus had by no means the energy, ability and personality of his father. He died in 1706, leaving his vast estate to his only son, Colonel Ephraim Augustine Herrman, who represented Cecil

[11] Valentine's Manual of N. Y. (1863). p. 773.
[12] Ibid. Date of baptism.
[13] Mallery, C. P. Ancient families of Bohemia Manor, p. 20.
[14] Ibid. Also Md. Arch. Proc. of Gen. Assembly, from 1700-1706.

County for many years in the General Assembly. He took an active part in the social life of the county and probably raised the prestige of the Manor to a point higher than did his grandfather himself. He is said to have been a man of good breeding and wide culture and encouraged the arts, sciences and literature. On the manor stands a house where Dr. R. M. Bird wrote a tragedy called the "Gladiator" in which Edwin Forrest acted.[15] Colonel Herrman married first: Isabelle Trent of Pennsylvania, by whom he had two daughters, Catherine and Mary. His second wife was Araminta ....., by whom he had one son who became the fifth lord of Bohemia Manor. But he lived only four years after his father's death, dying without male issue, and thus passed away forever the last male bearing the name and title, "Augustine Herrman, lord of Bohemia Manor".[16] The daughter of the fifth lord, Mary, married John Lawson whose descendants married into the Bassett family. Another daughter, Catherine, married Peter Bouchelle by whom she had a daughter, Mary, who married Captain Joseph Ensor of Baltimore County. Mary Ensor's first son was named Augustine Herrman Ensor, born in 1761 and acknowledged as lord of the Manor. On his twenty-first birthday he was thrown from his horse and killed.[17] His brother, Joseph Ensor, inherited the title and estate, but he was regarded as feeble-minded. It is related that this seventh lord would be accustomed to draw a circle around himself and defy anyone from entering his "manor".[18]

In 1787 the legal existence of Bohemia Manor came to an end after a period of one hundred twenty-seven years, the

[15] Mallery, C. P. Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor, p. 22.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid. See also Landrum's Rise of Methodism in America.

Federal Constitution forbidding all manorial estates and hereditary titles. In all there were seven men who held the title "lord" but only the first, the founder and greatest of them all, ever attained more than a local prominence.

We shall now briefly trace the fortunes of the daughters of Augustine Herrman and their descendants. Anna Margareta was born March 10, 1658 in New Amsterdam. About the year 1680 she married Matthias Vanderhayden of Albany, who was related to the Schuyler family. One of their daughters, Ariana, was a celebrated beauty. She was born in 1690 and was educated in England and Holland. In both countries she was greatly admired for her beauty and fine accomplishments and is said to have been courted by noblemen of both nations. She was twice married. Her first husband was Thomas Bordley of Bordley Hall, Yorkshire, afterwards Attorney General of Maryland.[19] Upon his death, Ariana married Edmund Jennings of Annapolis, son of Sir Thomas Jennings of Yorkshire. In 1737 she accompanied her husband to England and while there she was inoculated for the small-pox, from the effects of which she is said to have died, 1741.[20] Her daughter married John Randolph of Virginia whose son Edmund (Jennings) was Secretary of State under Washington. One of Ariana's sisters married a Philadelphian, Edward Shippen, whose daughter, Margaret, also a celebrated beauty of her day, became the second wife of Benedict Arnold.

Judith, the second daughter of Augustine and Jannetje Verlett Herrman, was born in New Amsterdam May 9, 1660. She married Colonel John Thompson, a provincial judge and an intimate friend of her father. Colonel Thompson is said to have attained the age of 109 years. Although a wealthy man

[19] Mallery, C. P. Ancient families of Bohemia Manor, p. 25.
[20] Ibid. p. 26.

in his own right, with the "Bohemia Sisters" estate of his wife he was among the largest landowners of Maryland of his day. Their son Richard like his father attained a great age, being over one hundred years at the time of his death. His descendants have been prominent in Maryland and Delaware. Among Judith's descendants is the Bayard family of Delaware which contributed many statesmen to the nation.

The Bassett family also traces its ancestry from Judith Herrman. Richard Bassett was a great-grandson of Augustine Herrman. He was a Captain in the Continental Army, a member of the Convention at Philadelphia which framed the Federal Constitution; a member of the Delaware Convention which shortly thereafter adopted the Federal Constitution; a United States Senator from Delaware in the First Federal Congress; Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Delaware; Governor of the State of Delaware; and United States Circuit Judge.

The third and youngest daughter of Augustine Herrman, Francina, was born March 12, 1662 in New Amsterdam, just a few months before the family was united at the Manor for the first time. She lived for a time in Holland, but returned to Maryland where she married Joseph Wood. She had a long line of descendants but her share of "The Three Bohemia Sisters" has long since passed out of the family.

We have but one other person intimately connected with Augustine Herrman's life, and her descendants to discuss. Anna Hack continued to reside in Maryland with her two sons, George Nicholas and Peter, and two daughters, Katherine and Ann, after the death of her husband. It seems, however, that she returned to Virginia, probably after Herrman's death, and she died about the year 1700.

George Nicholas Hack married Ann Wright, daughter of

Richard Wright. They had a son Nicholas and a daughter. Nicholas Wright married Elizabeth Howson (Ball) May 16, 1717 and the daughter married into the Moseley family of Princess Ann County, Virginia.

Peter Hack, the second son of Dr. George and Anna Verlett Hack was born at Accomac, Virginia about the year 1653. He was a colonel in the county militia and a member of the House of Burgesses from 1696 to 1712.[21] He was a vestryman of St. Stephen's parish, Northumberland Co., Va., in 1712.[22] In 1690 he was ranger general of the Northern Neck counties.[23] He married Mary Ann Mattrom or Mottrom, daughter of Spencer Mottrom of Northumberland and granddaughter of Nicholas Spencer, Secretary of the Colony of Virginia.[24] Colonel Peter Hack had two sons, John and Peter and a daughter Ann, who became the second wife of Colonel Edwin Conway.[25]

John Hack married Elizabeth Kirk and Peter married Ann Custis, daughter of Henry Custis of Mt. Custis, Northampton Co., Va., and Ann Kendall. Their son, Peter Spencer Hack, married Sarah Ann Garlington, daughter of Christopher Garlington and Elizabeth Conway, a niece of Mary Ball, mother of Washington.[26] On April 22, 1746 another son, Tunstall married Hannah Conway, his cousin, thus uniting two branches of the family of Colonel Peter Hack. Peter Spencer Hack and Sarah Ann Garlington had two daughters and a son, Peter John Tunstall, who appears to have inherited property in Maryland, possibly that formerly belonging to his great-

[21] Journal House of Burgesses, Vols. for 1619-1712.
[22] Meade, Bishop. Churches, etc. of Va., Vol. II. p. 468.
[23] Hayden, Va. Geneal. p. 244.
[24] Tyler's Quart. Hist. Mag., Vol. VI. p. 283.
[25] Hayden, Va. Geneal. p. 234.
[26] Wm. & Mary Col. Quart., Vol. III, Ser. 2 (1923); Heck, E. L. W. Col. Wm. Ball of Va., London, 1928, p. 42.

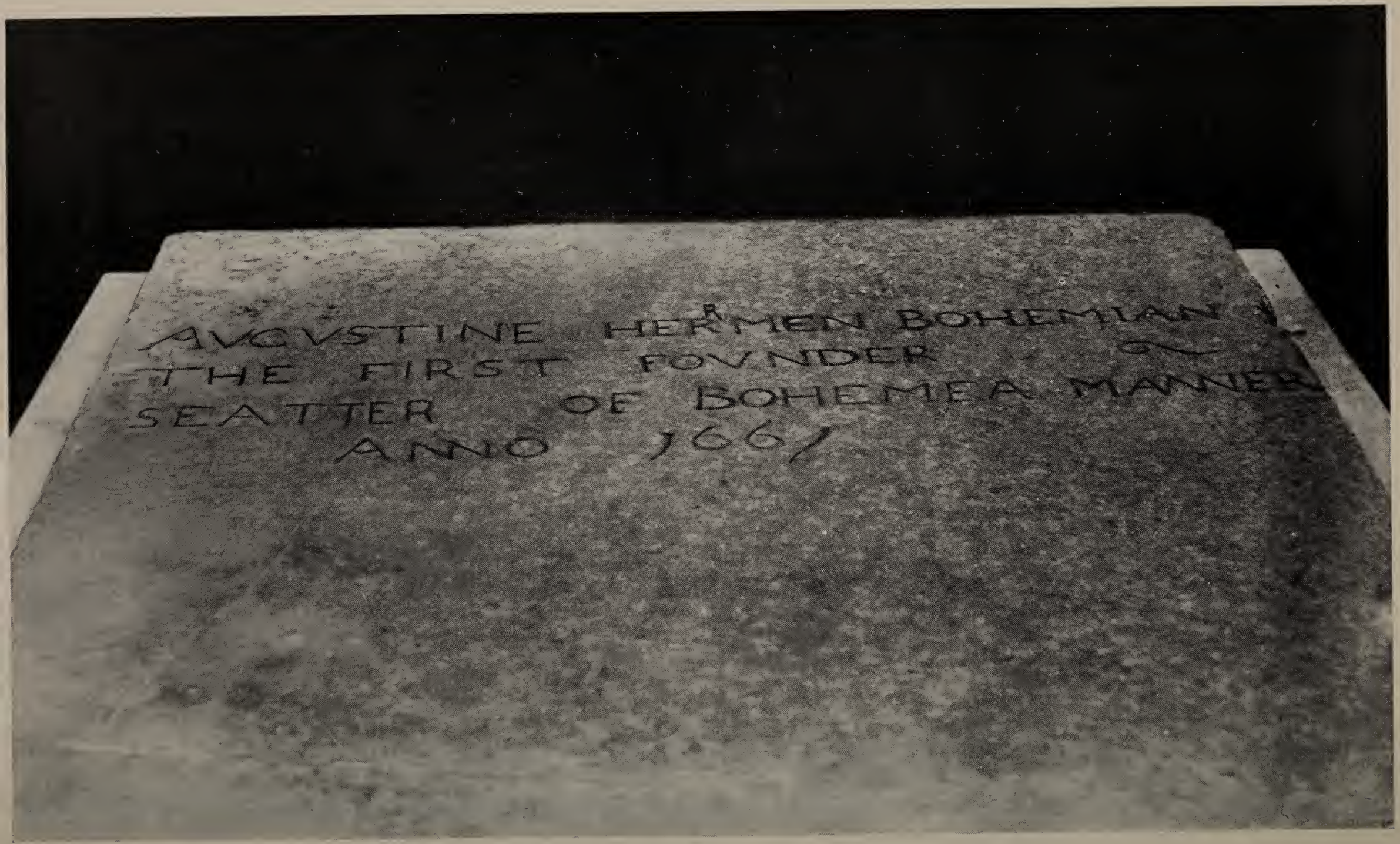
grandparents, for he settled in Somerset County, Maryland. His sister Mary married John Graham of Northumberland Co., Va., and his sister Ann married John Gordon of Lancaster County.

Peter John Tunstall Hack or Heck, as the name was beginning to be spelled, had two sons, Daniel David and Balser, probably born in Somerset County, Md., but later removed to Frederick County. Daniel David served in a Maryland regiment during the American Revolution, where his name is spelled both "Hack" and "Heck".[27] Daniel David Heck married Christina Lane, by whom he had three sons and two daughters. David, the eldest son, born Sept. 1, 1783 at Frederick, Md., served in a Virginia Regiment during the War of 1812 and in 1818 removed with his wife, Magdalena Spittler and his family from Botetourt Co., Va. to Montgomery Co., Ohio, where he became the ancestor of a long line of descendants scattered all through the western and southern states. Daniel David Heck who fought in the American Revolution married again, by whom he is said to have had a large family, many of whose descendants are still living in Frederick Co.

Nothing is known of the descendants of Katherine and Ann Hack, daughters of Dr. George and Anna Hack. It is not known if they married.

One could, if space permitted, continue with a discussion of the other numerous families who lived on or near Bohemia Manor at the time of Augustine Herrman. But that would extend to greater lengths than we have planned. The best account of these families and their descendants so far written is to be found in Charles Payson Mallery's "Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor", published by the Historical Society of Dela-

[27] Maryland Archives. Muster Rolls of the Revolution. Office of Adjutant General, Annapolis. Office of U. S. Adjutant General, Washington, D. C.



Gravestone of Augustine Herrman, Bohemia Manor, Cecil County, Maryland

ware (No. VII, 1888), a work to which we have frequently referred.

Bohemia Manor as a great manorial estate has long passed out of existence, and for a long time out of even the minds of all except those who lived in its immediate vicinity. Since Augustine Herrman's day the broad acres of rich fertile land of his ancient manor furnished subsistence to hundreds who in their daily toil did not have time to ponder over the events of the past. Indeed, for many years the very name of the first lord was unknown to many who were accustomed to tread the same paths and roads that he himself had fashioned out of the wilderness. Outside of a few tangible marks, bricks and stones of the first two manor houses, there is only one thing on his whole vast estate that recalls his memory to the people of to-day. On a stone slab about seven feet long and three feet wide we can still read: [28]

R
AVGVSTINE HERMEN BOHEMIAN[29]
THE FIRST FOVNDER
SEATTER OF BOHEMEA MANNER
ANNO 1661

This is the only monument which marks the passing of one of the most interesting personages in the early annals of American history.

[28] A new vault has been erected upon the precise spot where the old vault was and the original tombstone placed thereon. The tomb of Herrman is near the present home of Senator Thomas F. Bayard on his estate near the Bohemia River, Elkton, Md.

[29] The inscription is usually regarded as the work of an unlettered artisan.

Chapter X

HERRMAN'S PLACE IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Over three hundred years have passed since Augustine Herrman came to this country. His name is identified with a half dozen or more of the original American states. He was among the foremost men in at least two of them. His influence was felt over the rest. Ten years after his death his name passed into oblivion, to remain buried for well nigh one hundred seventy years. But during all those years we in America have been gaining sufficient leisure so that we have ample time to look over the past and remove the dust from the old colonial archives and take a look at the early makers of the nation. For the past fifty years we have been printing and arranging the colonial records and the official documents and out of these grim and dusty manuscripts are emerging the old heroes of three centuries ago.

Probably we Americans are more or less ignorant of the history of our nation. Most of us have a fairly good idea of what happened after the American Revolution, but enough of us do not appreciate the fact that American history began as many years before 1776 as have passed since the adoption of the federal constitution.

The seventeenth century is the period of the dark ages of the history of the United States. But to the world, as society was organized then, that century was something far different. As the sixteenth century was an era of discovery and exploration, the seventeenth was a century of colonization and settlement. This colonization can be well divided into two phases.

The first was an epoch of gigantic commercial enterprises which ultimately resulted in the formation of large trading companies. Antwerp ushered in the seventeenth century, for it was that city that symbolized the commercial greatness of Europe. Gradually Antwerp's two most important rivals, Amsterdam and London, were steadily pushing ahead, finally to replace the Flemish city as the commercial marts of Europe.

The second half of the seventeenth century was characterized by a settling down, a closer organization of society and politics and the establishment and the building up of great landed estates, particularly in the southern colonies of America, which subsequently gave rise to the landed gentry of the eighteenth century and a concomitant culture and refinement of life and manners the like of which the world had seen but once or twice since the age of Pericles.[1] It is interesting to find that Augustine Herrman rather symbolized these two divisions of the seventeenth century; and he was successful in both phases. During the first part of the century he was essentially a merchant and a trader and probably not over-scrupulous in the way he made his money. During the second half of his life we find him devoting his energies in the preparation of the drawing of a beautiful and useful map and the founding of a great estate. Living until 1686, Herrman's life was roughly concomitant with the seventeenth century. He grew up with that century and he changed as the spirit of the times changed.

Seventeenth century America, nonetheless, produced few great figures whom we can regard as strictly Americans. Roger Williams may have come close to the point; and Charles Calvert, the third baron of Baltimore was in many respects a product of the New World. The second Richard Lee of Virginia was largely a product of his native colony; and in New

[1] During the Italian Renaissance or Elizabethan England.

England there were John Eliot, Increase Mather and Cotton Mather. Yet all of these men were largely products of a local civilization and rarely did they take much interest in the affairs of the other colonies.

But in the case of Augustine Herrman it was different. First a merchant of the only Dutch colony in what is now the United States, he learned to know these folk and lived as one of them, haggling, quarrelling and suing each other. As a diplomat he came in contact with the New Englanders on the one hand, and on the other with the southern planters. Later, as a great landed proprietor he learned to know more about the English colonists, living as successfully among them as he did formerly with the Dutch burgers. His estate was situated close to the center of Atlantic America; doubtless through his domains passed many of the celebrated visitors who came over from the Old World to take a look at the New. Herrman was neither New Netherlander nor Marylander; he was, in the best sense of the word, an American.

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